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A REVIEW of the
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.
IN
TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

Containing the **TITLES** and **PRETENSIONS**
of our several **KINGS**, and the most
remarkable **TRANSACTIONS** and **OC-**
CURRENCES in each **REIGN**, from
the **CONQUEST** to the **REVOLUTION**.

VOL. II.

Containing the **TRANSACTIONS** and **OC-**
CURRENCES of the three last **REIGNS**;
viz. King **JAMES II.** King **WILLIAM III.**
and Queen **ANNE**.

By **Mr. SALMON.**

L O N D O N:

Printed for **CHARLES RIVINGTON** at the *Bible*
and *Crown* in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*.

M, DCC, XXIV.

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BRITANNICVM

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The **SECOND EDITION.**

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Containing the

Titles and Partitions

of our Kingdom

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AND

The most remarkable Transactions
and Occurrences in each
from the Conquest to the Present

By M. J. A. D. M. O. M.

THE SECOND EDITION

LONDON

Printed by CHARLES SMITH, at the
the Theatre, in Pall Mall



To the REVEREND

Mr. CAPEL BERROW.



O testify the Respect I bear
to your Venerable Order,
and to Yourself, so bright
an Ornament of it, in par-
ticular, I have taken the Liberty to
prefix Your Name to these Sheets, and
send them into the World under Your
Patronage. The INTRODUCTION
gives so full an Account of my Design,
that I need say little of it here. You
will

The DEDICATION.

will perceive, what I principally aim at, is to shew, that bare Possession was never thought to give any of our Princes a Title to the Throne, or to the Subjects Allegiance, from the time that this Kingdom was first erected into a Monarchy, even to this Day; and that, in the Succession of fifty Kings, there is hardly one of them but claim'd the Crown as his Inheritance, or by the Appointment of his Predecessor, or of those in whom the Legislative Authority was vested. And even in the Debates concerning the *Abdication*, it was agreed on all Hands, that the Crown was Hereditary. I must confess it was admitted too, even by the Nonjuring Bishop of *Ely*, Dr. *Turner*, that as there might be a natural Incapacity to govern, as Frenzy, doating old Age, or the like; so there might be also a moral Incapacity, such as an irremovable

The DEDICATION.

able Persuasion in a false Religion, in him to whom the Right of Succession did belong, so as to make the Exercise of his Government impracticable, and our Obedience to him, consistently with the Constitution of our Religion, impossible. And in this Case the Bishop did allow, that the Administration ought to be in other Hands. Indeed he would have the Government continued in the Name of the disabled Prince, tho' the Power (the Exercise of the Government) should be transferr'd to his Successor. But as he admits the thing, that in such a Case the Exercise of the Government ought to devolve on the next Prince who is not so disabled, it does not seem to me very material in whose Name it is exercised. Therefore those Gentlemen who believe what the Convention unanimously resolv'd, namely, *That it is inconsistent*
with

The **DEDICATION.**

with the Laws and Constitution of this Kingdom to have a Popish Prince upon the Throne, can have little Scruple in obeying the next Protestant Successor, if no Act of Settlement had been made.

I shall not trespass on your Modesty or Patience any longer, by entertaining you with your own Character, but break thro' the ordinary Method of Dedications, and, without more Ceremony, subscribe myself,

April 18.
1722.

Reverend Sir,

Your most Obliged

Humble Servant,

Tho. Salmon.



T H E

INTRODUCTION.



ANY Attempts have been made to satisfy the Subject in that great Duty of Submission.

The Reverend Dr. *Stillingsfleet* has labour'd the Point in his Treatise of *The Unreasonableness of a new Separation*; Dr. *Sherlock*, in *the Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers*; and Mr. *Higden*, in his *View, and Review of the English Constitution*. And however formerly the Titles of Princes, and the Subject's Duty, might be accounted Topicks only fit for Statesmen, and those of an exalted Station, to meddle with; yet since at this Day, to the carrying on almost every Employment, it is necessary, in the first Place, not only to express our Submission, but solemnly to swear we are entirely satisfy'd with the Title of the reigning Prince, and to abjure all others, and Prayers to the same Effect are intermixed with all our publick Devotions,

tions, surely it behoves every private Man to make a particular Scrutiny into these Matters: And he who acquiesces in his Prince's Title upon due Consideration, and a full Conviction of the Legality and Justice of it, is like to make a much better Subject, than he who blindly to obtain an Office, or for a Permission to get his daily Bread, takes every Oath that's tender'd him, without ever considering the Tendency or Purport of it.

Happy, say some, thrice happy Quakers, who so strenuously and successfully endeavour to be exempted from calling God to Witness to the Truth of what they may remain in doubt. A most convincing Proof that the Men have some Religion at last: And if this does not establish and increase that Sect, so highly favoured and indulged, I am at a loss to know what will.

But to return: In order to discover the Nature of the *English* Constitution, and the Subject's Duty in this grand Point, I have enquired into the Titles and Pretensions of every King of *England*, from the Conquest to the Revolution; and the several Objections that have been made to their Titles, with the Answers to those Objections; as the most effectual Way to satisfy the Doubts of our weak Brethren. And because Titles and Pedigrees by themselves are but a dry sort of Reading, I have intermixed the Characters of the several Princes, as I find them collected by our

Historians;

Historians; and have made some Reflections and Remarks on their respective Reigns and Characters. From whence it will appear, that we may sometimes receive wrong Impressions from the most celebrated Writers; even from the Facts produc'd by themselves, it is evident the Characters are not always just. But to the Point: As to the nineteen Kings before the Conquest, who succeeded *Egbert*, the first sole Monarch of *England*, twelve of them came to the Crown by lineal Succession, and Proximity of Blood. And as to *Athelstan*, the seventh after *Egbert*, admitting his Mother was not married at the Time of his Birth; yet his Father marrying her afterwards, it is not improbable that by the Laws then in Force he was accounted legitimate, and consequently to be reckon'd also in the Number of Hereditary Kings. The next Breach that is said to be made in the Succession was by *Edred*, who, in the Infancy of his Nephew *Edwin*, we are told, assumed both the Stile and Authority of King; whereas he could not legally have claim'd more than the Guardianship and Administration of the Government during his Nephew's Minority. But, I presume, no Man will hold, because a Guardian wrongfully keeps his Ward out of the Possession of his Estate some Years longer than he ought, and assumes his Title to himself, that thereby he acquires a legal Right to his Estate; and while *Edred* was in Possession of the Government, it might be dif-

ficult for the Subject to pay his Allegiance elsewhere, though he was never so sensible of the Oppression and Injustice of *Edred*.

But it appears after all, that *Edwin*, at the Death of his Uncle *Edred*, was but fourteen Years of Age; so that this Reign, as 'tis called, of *Edred*, was but a bare Guardianship, and does not affect, or any way break into the lineal Succession: And our Writers have possibly conferred a Title upon him which he never assum'd, and enroll'd him in the Number of our Kings, when he never aspir'd to the Honour. As to his Administration of the Government during the Infancy of his Nephew, this was what he might very innocently take upon him, and what has been often done, without any Prejudice to the Succession, by the Uncle of an Infant King. The next that did not come in by Right of Succession, and Proximity of Blood, was *Canute* the *Dane*: And this Prince, it must be acknowledged, had at first no other Title to any Part of the *English* Dominions than Conquest, which cannot be look'd upon any thing better than a grand Robbery, what glorious Epithets soever our Historians may bestow upon their Heroes of this Form, whose Actions serve so much to embellish and adorn their Stories. But *Edmund Ironside*, the rightful King, and *Canute*, coming afterwards to a Treaty, and agreeing to divide the Kingdom between them, and that the Survivor should succeed to the whole, *Canute* must after this
be

The INTRODUCTION.

be acknowledg'd to have a legal Title, if Cession could give one; and the Nation was so much of that Opinion then, that *Canute* peaceably enjoy'd the whole Kingdom after the Death of *Edmund Ironside*, and left it to his Son *Harold*, (by his Concubine *Elgiva*) who dying without Issue, *Hardecanute*, the Son of *Canute* by his Wife *Emma*, succeeded as Heir to *Canute*.

The next who did not succeed by Proximity of Blood was *Edward the Confessor*; but History informs us, that even he was Testamentary Heir, and came to the Throne by the Appointment of *Hardecanute*, the preceding King. And lastly, as to *Harold II*. I think it is generally admitted, that he was neither hereditary nor testamentary Heir, but purely an Usurper. But he pretended, however, that he was appointed to succeed to the Crown by *Edward the Confessor*; which Pretence alone is sufficient to manifest, that there was a Power vested in the Kings of *England*, at that time, of appointing their Successors; and that something more seem'd requisite then to acquire a Title to the Crown, than bare Possession; because he insisted upon the Donation and Appointment of *Edward the Confessor*, even after he had acquir'd full Possession of the Government, when the Duke of *Normandy* came to dispute that Appointment with him. And it may be observ'd, that *Harold* never insisted upon Possession as any Addition to his Title

in that Dispute, though we have since indeed found out, that Possession alone can give a Right, to the Exclusion of all others. The Dispute between *Harold* and *William I.* was only which of them was really testamentary Heir to *Edward the Confessor*: And how ridiculous would it have been for them to have contested about a Thing that could not have advanced the Title or Interest of either? Surely we may naturally infer from this Dispute, if we may infer any thing, that the reigning Prince had in those Days a Right of limiting the Succession of the Crown of *England*. But from the Reign of *Egbert*, down to the present King, containing the Space of nine hundred Years and upwards, neither our Princes themselves, or their Houses of Parliament, have ever declared, or suggested, that *bare Possession* either made or strengthened their Titles. They have always founded the Title of the Prince upon something less shocking to common Understanding; nor was this ever pretended to give any Right, but by those Usurpers who possess'd themselves of the sovereign Power, after they had murder'd King *Charles I.* And they might do well to countenance this Title, because they could not possibly have any other, unless they made themselves one from that equally detested Principle, which makes every Prince no more than the Creature of the People; and that as he was originally elected by them,

so

so he may be adjudg'd, depos'd, and murder'd, and another set up in his Room, when his Administration is not suitable to their Taste. And this brings me to consider that other favourite Opinion, that the *supreme Magistrate derives his Authority only from the Consent or Election of the People*. And here I don't apprehend it very material to enter into a Dispute about the Original of Government. It is abundantly sufficient to shew, that the Kings of *England*, for near a thousand Years, have always had, or pretended to have, some other Title to their Thrones than Election. But it would become those Gentlemen, who run so far backward in search of Principles to found their Allegiance upon, to assign us a Time when Men were born under no Government; for if they were always born under some Government, then was there such a thing as Government before the People's Consents were demanded, and before ever they proceeded to an Election. And as it may be difficult to produce many Instances where People were perfectly independent, and had no Superiors, so neither is it rational to suppose, there have been many such Cases; unless we fall into that Opinion, that Men sprung up over the whole Earth at first like Mushrooms, and had no Relation to one another, as the Advocates of what is called the State of Nature seem to insinuate, though it may be much more natural to suppose there never was any

such State. For as to those of us who pretend to derive our selves from *Adam*, we are apt to think, that in the Days of the Patriarchs, who are the first Sovereigns we read of, they had the Government of their Descendants while they remained with them, and never once put it to the Vote, whether their Children, or Grand-children would be governed by them or no. And when People began to multiply, and it was found necessary to divide their Families in order to subsist them, it is not very reasonable to suppose, that those who were sent abroad to seek new Habitations were sent without a Leader ; or, that when a new Colony was planted, no Governors or Superiors were appointed to command in the Place : And if there were one or more so appointed to preside over the rest, this totally destroys the Doctrines of Possession and Election. And surely we might justly call in question the Prudence of that Nation, who should endeavour to make a Settlement, or establish a Plantation abroad by a Pack of Levellers. If we would make the Experiment once, and detach five hundred Fellows to *America* without a Superior, we should soon see what a happy Constitution they would strike out. I am afraid Solitude would be preferable to such a Society ; and we might more reasonably expect to hear they had dispatched one another, or dispersed themselves, rather than founded a new State. It would be a notable
Discovery,

Discovery, if any one could direct us to that Golden Age when Multitudes might safely associate upon the Level. Human Nature has ever been too depraved, since the Fall, to stand in need of no outward Restraints; and therefore it is very difficult to believe, that an All-wise Providence should ever leave Mankind without any. But I have this further to offer against this pretended natural Right of electing our Governors, that there is not that Nation under Heaven, not excepting those that are called elective States or Kingdoms, where the inferior People, the lower Part of Men, who are much the Majority, have any Share in the Election of their Governors: And it is something strange, if this was a natural, indefeasible Right, which the People could never be deprived of, that we should not find any one People invested with it.

As to foreign Nations, the Mob or Multitude, who are excluded both from the legislative and executive Power, and from the Election of those that have either, I may modestly say, even in elective Kingdoms, are at least twenty to one; and in our own, no Man, that has made but a cursory Estimate, of the People, can pretend that one Tenth of them are Electors even of the Commons, who are but one of the three Estates that consent to the Laws the King enacts. And if we talk of natural Rights, every Man, how mean soever, has a natural Right to chuse
his

his Governors, and enact Laws, equal to the greatest. Therefore whoever affirms, that no King, State, or Magistrate, has, or ever had, a Right to the Subject's Allegiance, who are not elected or confirm'd by a Majority of the People, does in effect affirm, that no King, State, or Magistrate, have, or ever had, any Right to the Allegiance of their Subjects; for the Majority of the People, take them either diffusively or representatively, never gave their Votes in the Election of a supreme Magistrate, or Magistrates, or to the enacting the Laws they are govern'd by, or which limit the Succession of their Sovereigns.

But further: Providence never intended the common People for Legislators, or authoriz'd them to elect, judge, or depose their Sovereigns, for this very good Reason; because they are not at all qualified for any such Undertaking. Not that I think there is originally so great a Difference in the Capacities of Men as some imagine; but the lower part of the People have so very narrow an Education, and are so conversant about their Cattle and Husbandry, that they have neither Leisure or Opportunity of understanding the general Advantage and Interest of the Commonwealth they live in. And in fact, we see in all Elections of Magistrates or Representatives, where they have a Vote, the meaner Sort blindly follow their Landlords or great Neighbours, or are over-aw'd
by

by them, and never pretend to make use of their own Judgments in the Matter; or, indeed, seldom know more of the Person they elect, than what they discover on the Day of Election.

As to the Pretensions of the Barons and Clergy heretofore, and of some of our modern Patriots, who pretend to stand up for the People's Rights, 'tis plain, that by the People, they only mean themselves and their particular Interests. The Multitude, the Majority, were very little consider'd in the Barons Wars; they were but Vassals to the great Lords, serv'd to till their Lands, carry out their Dung, or to feed their Cattle, or were employ'd in other vile Offices about their Houses or Farms; they had no Liberties or Properties, but were themselves their Lords Property, and liable to be sold, with their Wives and Children; and some of them were reckon'd so much a Part of the Estate, that upon every Descent and Alienation of the Lands, they were part of the Purchase or Inheritance, and went with it, as Deer and Fish do now. And in those Times, the more successful and victorious their Lords happen'd to be, the Villains Chains were but so much the stronger made thereby. And yet what Panegyricks do we find bestow'd on them by Persons, whose Ignorance in our ancient Histories and Constitution, induces them to suppose these Barons fought the People's Battles,

ties, and rebell'd against their Sovereign to obtain the great Charter, and other Charters of Liberties *for the People!* when in reality, the Clergy and Nobility struggled only for Dominion, or to encroach upon their King's Prerogative. The common People, as I have observed, were never the less Slaves, but rather more, by the Success their Masters had. Indeed, when the Barons and Clergy were beaten, then had the People (properly speaking) reason to rejoice; for, in order to support their Rebellion against their Prince, the Lords were forc'd to enfranchise many of their Vassals, to encourage them to assist them. But had they been victorious, and absolutely subdued their Prince, probably the common People had been in a state of Slavery to this Day.

But to come down lower: when the antient Grandeur of the Barons seem'd to be transferr'd to the Gentry, and the House of Commons contested with their Prince for Empire, what were the common People concern'd in the Quarrel? or what Advantage did the Generality of the poorer sort, who are by much the Majority, reap, by that entire Conquest the lower House of Parliament made of their Sovereign, and the whole Constitution? They were made use of, indeed, to depose and murder a most pious Prince, to subvert their antient Laws, and to assist those Miscreants to usurp the Sovereign Power.

But

But what were they better'd by the Change? What new Privileges were conferr'd on them by their new Masters, which they were not in Possession of before? Did *Oliver*, or the *Rump*, admit them to any Share in the Government? Or rather, did they not remain the same Beasts of Burthen they were while Monarchy flourish'd?

And notwithstanding all the Noise that is made about the *People's Rights*, if by the People is meant *the Mob, the Majority, or Drudges of the World*, it is not very material to them what the Constitution is, whether Monarchy, mixt or absolute, hereditary or elective; or what other Form of Government they live under, they have little to fear or hope; they are so useful and necessary to their Superiors, that they will infallibly be suffer'd to carry on their several Occupations, whoever prevails. Nor do I think their Condition very much better'd since they were in a State of Vassalage: the Parish has now as great a Power over them, as ever their Lords had formerly; and the Subsistence they gain by their laborious Employments, is scarce equal to what they heretofore found in their Patrons Kitchens.

From these Reflections it appears, that those mighty Struggles for Liberty and Property were not in behalf of the People, (the Majority) whose natural Rights are so much talk'd of; and which are certainly equal to any of their potent or rich Neighbours; but the real Con-

test has been for Empire; and whether we should live under a Monarchical, or an Aristocratical Form of Government. And as I don't wonder that any Man, that expects to be a Legislator in a Republick, is extremely fond of that Model; so neither is it strange, that every one that hopes to be a Minister of State to his Prince, and to sit at the Helm, should be an Advocate for Monarchy and uncontroll'd Dominion; for while the Prince bears the Name, the Minister, or Mistress, undiscern'd, often directs and moves the whole Machine.

Whether Monarchy, or Aristocracy be most desirable, may take up more time to enquire than is suitable with this Introduction. There are no doubt Conveniences and Inconveniences to be found in both; but if we may judge by the Event, a mixture of each seems preferable to either. Nor is it unreasonable to expect it should be so; for the Contentions between the Crown and the States have this one good Effect, that neither of them dare much oppress the meaner sort, for fear of making them their Enemies; and are often glad to redress their Grievances, to engage them in their respective Interests. But I have sometimes heard it objected, that where the Government is purely Aristocratical, it is not liable to those Convulsions we often suffer upon the Change of our Princes. There, if any one of the States die, or become incapable

pable of his Post, the Administration is not at all disturb'd, but proceeds regularly as before, till another is elected in his room; and so from time to time, as often as a Chasm happens; and there is no danger of civil Broils upon the Change. And this must be acknowledg'd to be one great Advantage a Republick has. But then on the other hand, there seems to be much greater danger of Oppression and Tyranny, and there is much less Probability of having the People's Grievances redress'd in a Republick than under a Monarchy, especially under such a Monarchy as ours is; for it is very possible, that the Interest of the Nobility, or principal Members of the Commonwealth, in whom the Government is vested, may be widely different from that of the common People's. And we may depend upon it, where-ever their Interests clash, the Subjects must be Sufferers; for there is no persuading great Men to part with any thing that may promote their Interests; and in this Case it is impossible to compel them. The Members of which every State is compos'd, are the principal and leading Men in every District; and the Opposition the common People can make to any thing that these shall propose, very seldom gives a State much Disturbance. Therefore, where the People are enslav'd by a Republick, their Chains are so fix'd and riveted, that they can never be shaken off: whereas when the Government is

in one Person, he must act with Caution, or he will probably run *Rehoboam's* Fate, and endanger a general Revolt of his Subjects. And till Princes maintain'd standing Armies for their Guards, and (which is worse) made use of foreign Troops to enslave their Subjects, and had found the way of buying their Leaders by Pensions or Preferments, it was impossible for a Prince to have been a great Oppressor, without discovering the dangerous Tendency of such a Procedure to his own Interests, but especially in a Monarchy constituted as this of *England* is.

But to proceed: The Reader will find in this Review, that the Titles and Pretensions of our Kings to the Throne have not been always the same. Some have claim'd by Proximity of Blood, as next Heirs; others by the Will and Appointment of their Predecessors, and the Cession of the lawful Heir; and others by Acts of Parliament. That our Princes had heretofore a Right in themselves to appoint their Successors, I have shewn already. I may add here, that it is not at all unreasonable to suppose it should be so; because the Legislature was solely in them before the Institution of Parliaments; and wherever the Legislature is lodg'd, it is generally held there is a Right of limiting or altering the Succession. Ever since the Barons, and after them the Commons, were let into a Share of the Legislature, it has been

been held indeed, that the Crown could not be alienated or limited, but by their Consent; and that when the Crown is settled by the King and the three Estates, no Authority less than that can defeat such a Settlement, for this plain Reason, that all Laws enacted by the Legislature remain in force, till they are repeal'd or alter'd by the Legislature.

As for that Pretence of acquiring a Right by the Election of the Mob, or Multitude, I don't find that it ever amounted to any thing more than Champion *Dymock's* Demand at a Coronation, after the Prince is already establish'd on his Throne, *Whether they accept him for their King?* If the Mob should on these Occasions be so hardy to express a Dissent, they would probably be soon made sensible of their Error. Nor would any Man in his Wits, who has any Knowledge of the Constitution, think the Prince's Title at all impeach'd by their Refusal to accept him.

As to that other pretended Title, already mention'd, of *Possession*, it is not to be denied but several Usurpers and Intruders have possess'd themselves of the Sovereign Power; but they have, however, always set up some other Title, which they need not have done, if Possession alone defeated all other Rights. It has, I know, been plausibly urg'd, that if we will allow none to be legal Titles, but what can be deriv'd from *Adam* or *Noah*, or their Assigns, then no Prince in the World has

Vol. I. B a legal

a legal Title at this Day. But we may take notice, that it has been as often answer'd, that every Possession is presum'd to be lawful, both in publick and private Inheritances, till some body can shew a better Title; and tho' a Man need make no manner of Scruple to enjoy an Estate he receives from his Ancestors, till he is appriz'd that some body has a better Right to it than himself, tho' he cannot shew the original Settlement, and how it came into the Family; yet if he should afterwards discover that his Ancestors possess'd themselves of it by Fraud or Force, and the Heirs that were wrongfully disseiz'd are still in being, he ought in Conscience to restore it to them, let his Possession have been of never so long a Continuance. This will, I believe, be admitted to be an equitable Procedure in a private Estate; and why it should not be deem'd so in the case of a Kingdom, I can see no manner of reason to doubt. And as I observ'd before, our Kings, for the space of nine hundred Years, have never insisted on Possession as a Title; which to me is a very good Argument that something more is requisite to give a Title to the Crown than Possession: and it is strange, if this alone would have done that, we never heard of it till the last Century, and then only from such Hands as we may be asham'd to imitate. But not to detain the Reader any longer, I shall refer him to the Facts themselves, which will abundantly evince the Truth of what I have advanc'd. A



A
 REVIEW
 OF THE
English History, &c.

 V O L. I.

W I L L I A M I.



WILLIAM I. surnamed the *Bastard*, A. D. 1066.
 commonly called the Conqueror, was
 natural Son of *Robert*, the sixth Duke
 of *Normandy*, by *Arlotta* a Skinner's
 Daughter of *Falais*.

Robert, being about to go a Pilgrimage to the Holy Land, assembled the Nobility of his Dukedom, and required them to obey his Son

The REIGN of

William as their Lord, who was then about ten Years of Age. He also made him do Homage to the *French King*, to whose Care, and the Duke of *Bretagne's*, he committed him, and then set forward to the Holy Land, where he died soon after his Arrival.

Edward the Confessor appoints him his Successor.

Upon the News of Duke *Robert's* Death, there appeared many Competitors for his Dukedom, under Pretence of the Illegitimacy of his Son *William*; but the young Duke had the good Fortune not only to vanquish all his Rivals, but made a Conquest of the Earldom of *Mans*, and part of the Dukedom of *Bretagne*. And having been thus bred up in Arms from his Infancy, and made great by Opposition, he was caress'd by all the neighbouring Princes, but by none more than by his Kinsman *Edward* the Confessor, then King of *England*, who in his declining Age thought fit to appoint him his Successor. *Ingulphus*, who was Secretary to Duke *William*, tells us, "That King *Edward* growing old, "and observing that *Edgar*, the Son of *Edward* " *Atheling*, was a Man unfit for Government, and "not able to support himself against the Power of " *Godwin's* Sons, pitch'd upon his Cousin *William*, "Duke of *Normandy*, to succeed him; and sent " *Robert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, into *Normandy*, "on purpose to acquaint him with it; and that " *Harold* took an Oath to submit to this Settlement." With him agree *Wilhelm Gemmeticensis*, and *Ordericus Vitalis*, who lived in those Times, and are Historians of good Credit: and this Disposition of the Confessor was confirmed by the express Assent of the Nobility and People of *England*.

But it is objected by some, that this Appointment or Donation of the Confessor could convey no manner of Right to Duke *William*, for that the Confessor himself could have no Title to the Crown, while the

the Issue of his elder Brother *Edmund Ironside* were in being.

To this it is answered, That at the time of the Confessor's Accession to the Crown, the Issue of *Edmund Ironside* were in a remote Country, and that it was some time before it was discover'd that any of them were living; and King *Edward*, having a prior Title to any body else, could not at that time be looked on as an Usurper. And whereas it is said he was however an unjust Possessor, and that, upon receiving Advice that his Nephews were living, he ought to have resign'd the Crown: To this it is answered, that our Historians make no mention that any of the Descendants of *Edmund Ironside* claimed the Crown in the Confessor's Reign. And they say further, That 'tis very possible a Prince may want an Opportunity of doing Right to the lawful Heir; and that the Exercise of the regal Power in such Circumstances, ought not to be looked upon as an Usurpation: That from the Character given us of King *Edward*, it is not to be presumed he would have accepted or continued in the Possession of the Crown against the Consent of the right Heir; for it is said, that upon the Death of *Hardecnute* it was not without great Importunity that the People prevailed upon him to be their King.

Objection to
his Title an-
swered.

They say further, that it is plain he lived in very good Terms with his Nephews, sent for them over into *England*, and entertained them in his Court; so that they seem'd perfectly to acquiesce in his continuing upon the Throne; and whenever the Heir himself is pleased to wave his Right, every body else ought to rest satisfied.

But 'tis further objected, that tho' the Issue of *Edmund Ironside* might be contented the Confessor should remain in Possession of the Crown during his Life, yet it can never be supposed that they

should concur in his Disposition of it to Duke *William* after his Death.

In answer to this it is said, that Prince *Edward*, his eldest Nephew, died soon after his Arrival in *England*, and his Son *Edgar Atheling* was too young to take upon him the Government at this time, when *Godwin's* Sons were so powerful, and aspired after the Crown. And that the Confessor's principal Design, in disposing of the Crown to Duke *William*, was in order to disappoint the ambitious Designs of that Family, who had in his own Reign made him sufficiently sensible of their Power, and might justly give him Apprehensions of what would follow upon his Decease, if an Infant should succeed him.

And it is said further, that the Right of Inheritance was not indeed in the Issue of *Edmund Ironside*, as has been suggested; for that *Edmund*, at a Treaty between him and King *Cnute*, did (by the Advice of his People) agree to divide the Kingdom between them. And upon *Edmund's* Death all the Nobility and Bishops of the Kingdom declared upon Oath, That by vertue of the said Treaty, King *Cnute* was rightfully entitled and possessed of the whole Kingdom of *England*, and took their Oaths to him as their lawful Prince: that the Confessor being the half Brother of *Hardecnute* the Son of *Cnute*, and appointed by *Hardecnute* to succeed him, did thereby acquire a Right to the Crown, and might dispose of it to Duke *William*, or to whom he saw fit, according to the Usage of those Times.

And lastly, it is observed, that *Edgar Atheling* made a voluntary Resignation of his Right to King *William I*; and from thenceforward, at least, *William I*. ought to be reckoned in the number of our rightful and lawful Kings.

This

King WILLIAM I.

5

This King died on the 9th of *September*, 1087, in the sixty first Year of his Age, and the twenty first of his Reign, and was buried at *Caen* in *Normandy*. He had Issue by *Maud*, the Daughter of *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, 1. *Robert*, his eldest Son, to whom he gave the Dukedom of *Normandy*. 2. *Richard*, his second Son, who was killed in *New Forest*. 3. *William*, commonly called *Rufus*, to whom he gave the Kingdom of *England*. 4. *Henry*, who succeeded his Brother *William* in the Kingdom of *England*. 5. *Cicely*, his eldest Daughter, who died a Nun. 6. *Constance*, married to *Alan*, Earl of *Bretagne*. 7. *Alice*, contracted to *Harold* the Usurper, but died unmarried. 8. *Adela*, married to *Stephen* Earl of *Blois*, by whom she had *Stephen*, afterwards King of *England*. 9. *Agatha*, who died unmarried.

His Age and
Death.

His Wife
and Issue.

Mr. *Echard*, from the Historians his Predecessors, has collected the following Character of *William I.* He says, however he acquir'd the Possession of the Throne, he maintain'd it as all wise Princes ever have done; that is, he labour'd by all Methods to continue himself in it. In which he illustriously display'd both his Wisdom and his Valour, having to encounter not only the Troubles rais'd by a discontented Kingdom, and a rebellious Dukedom, but also the whole Power of *France*, *Denmark*, *Scotland*, and *Wales*; all which he bravely surmounted with an uninterrupted Course of Prosperity: So that scarce any Prince ever made a greater Figure in History. As to his bodily Perfections, he was well-proportion'd, of a vigorous and healthful Constitution, of a noble Presence sitting or standing; of a masculine Beauty, in which there was a Mixture of Majesty and Severity; and had so great a Strength, that few of his Court could draw his Bow. As to those of his Mind, he was both wise and active, penetrating in his Designs, daring in his Enterprizes, and steady

His Character,
by Mr.
Echard.

in the Prosecution of them. All agree that he was chaste and temperate, pious, valiant and great in all his Actions, especially in such as express'd his Royal State and Dignity. His Pastimes were chiefly Hunting and Feasting; in the latter of which he always display'd his Grandeur, annually keeping the Feasts of *Christmas* at *Glocester*, that of *Easter* at *Winchester*, and that of *Whitsuntide* at *Westminster*: to which Places he summon'd all the great Men of the Kingdom, both Clergy and Laity, that foreign Ambassadors might be Witnesses of his extraordinary Magnificence; at which Times he was more easy of Access, and shew'd great Instances of Bounty and Indulgence to all Men; yet, among his many Virtues, he is much accus'd of being of a covetous, rapacious, and cruel Disposition, which produc'd innumerable Acts of Injustice and Oppression; which others think were rather the Effects of his Policy, the Necessity of his Affairs, and the Inconstancy and frequent Rebellions of those Subjects who had sworn Allegiance to him. But in the prosecuting of such, he oftentimes shew'd uncommon Generosity, pardoning the same Offenders two or three times over; *Earl Waltheof* being the only Nobleman that was put to death in his Reign. He was of so brave and fearless a Temper, that, contrary to the Policy of other Kings, he promoted his only Rival *Edgar Atheling*, after he had been twice in Arms against him, and gave him a Revenue suitable to his Quality. The rest of the *English* no doubt might have been happy under the Government of this Prince, who was really a Promoter of Piety, Learning, and all that was great; but being degenerated in their Morality and Virtue, divided in their Interests, and impolitick in struggling for that Liberty they had actually given up, great Numbers of them brought themselves under the most extream Miseries and Oppressions.

As

As to the Character our Historians give this Prince, it is not possible, at this distance of Time, to examine it in every Instance; but there seem to be some Facts of their own relating, which bear very hard upon that Justice, Piety and Generosity they so unanimously bestow upon him. Reflections
on his Reign
and Character.

We find his *English* Subjects grievously oppress'd by his Lieutenant *Odo*, even in the second Year of his Reign, before any Insurrection to exasperate him.

We find him not only disposing of all Posts of Honour and Profit among his *Normans*, but dividing the very Estates of the *English* amongst them; and what will remain as an eternal Badge of his Tyranny, and the Slavery of the *English*, it was he who instituted the Curfeu-Bell, and condemn'd them to live without Fire and Candle after eight in the Evening.

And when by his repeated Oppressions he had occasion'd such a general Insurrection, as he begun to apprehend his Crown in Danger; and, in order to appease his Subjects, solemnly swore to observe the Confessor's Laws; they were no sooner dispers'd than he broke his Oath, and seiz'd their Persons and Estates. Some will have it, that the *English* were permitted to enjoy their Estates; but it appears by that exact Survey he made of all the Lands of *England*, which is recorded in Doomſday-book, that most of the Lands of *England* were at that time actually in Possession of the *Normans*, and what the *English* held was chiefly under their *Norman* Masters, and upon such Terms as they were pleas'd to impose upon them. And notwithstanding his Oath to observe the Confessor's Laws, that he introduc'd the *Norman* Laws, Language, and Forms of Pleading, are Facts not to be disputed; and that terrible Waste and Destruction he caus'd for threescore Miles together in the *North* of *England*, and upon the Sea-Coasts,

Coasts, whereby great part of *England* remain'd uncultivated and uninhabited for upwards of nine Years, are no great Arguments of a merciful Disposition. Nay, that these Actions proceeded rather from a barbarous and savage Temper, inur'd to Rapine and Devastation, than from any just Fears or Desire of Revenge, appears in that, without any Provocation, he wantonly destroy'd thirty six Parishes in *Hampshire*, with their Churches, only to enlarge a Forest for his own Diversion. And strange it is, that our Historians, who so much celebrate his Virtue and Piety, should furnish us with no Instances of Remorse, no Satisfaction ever offer'd for all these repeated Acts of Impiety, Injustice, and Oppression, if he was really that pious Prince they make him: But the Fortunate are ever favourably dealt with; Power and Success, in the Opinion of the Vulgar, supply the Place of every Virtue; nay, there is no such Thing in their Opinion as *Virtue in Distress*. Arms and the glittering Pageantry of Empire attract the Eyes and Devotion of the People; Meekness, Temperance, Fortitude, and other humble Virtues, pass silently unregarded: Sacred Writ indeed says, *Greater is he that rules his Spirit, than he that takes a City*. But which of our prophane Historians are of that Mind? Their Encomiums are generally reserv'd for some mighty Monarch, some valiant General or illustrious Hero, as they stile 'em; many of whom, when look'd on with an impartial Eye, appear to be the greatest Plagues and Destroyers of Mankind.

WILLIAM



WILLIAM II.

WILLIAM II. surnamed *Rufus*, the second surviving Son of *William I.* succeeded to the Crown by the Appointment of his Father. *Robert*, his eldest Brother, disputed his Title some time; but they came at length to a Treaty, whereby the Kingdom of *England* was yielded up to *Rufus*. It is said, that *Rufus* broke these Articles, which occasioned a new War. But Matters were again accommodated by the Mediation of *Philip* King of *France*; and there was afterwards that entire Confidence between these Brothers, that *Robert* mortgaged his Duchy of *Normandy* to him for ten thousand Marks, and left him in Possession of it during his Voyage to the *Holy-Land*; so that he did not only inherit the Crown by the Donation of his Father, but by the Consent of his Brother for much the greater Part of his Reign. And *Edgar Atheling* was so little apprehended to have any Design upon the Crown during this Reign, that *Rufus* made him General of an Army, that he might settle his Nephew upon the Throne of *Scotland*.

1087.

His Title.

William Rufus, as he was a hunting in *New-forest*, was kill'd by the Glance of an Arrow shot at a Stag by *Walter Tyrrel*, a *French* Knight, on the 2d of *August*, *A. D.* 1100, being the 44th Year of his Age, and the 13th of his Reign, leaving neither Wife nor Issue behind him.

His Age and Death.

In the Character Mr. *Echard* gives of him, he says he may be justly rank'd among the worst Kings that *England*

His Character, by Mr. Echard.

England ever had. He wanted the Piety, Chastity, Humanity, and Wisdom of his Father; yet several Qualities he possess'd were both valuable and admirable, as his Courage, Bravery, and Magnificence, in which he was so vigorous and daring, that he was never dejected in the greatest Extremity, and very rarely fail'd of Success. He was liberal to his Friends, and especially to Soldiers; magnificent in his Retinue and Buildings, and expensive in his Cloaths, as appears from the common Story of Breeches or Hose, which he refused to wear because they cost but three Shillings, ordering his Chamberlain to bring those of a Mark Price, who sufficiently pleas'd him by bringing the same again after the King's Price was set upon them. He was a Prince of little or no Faith; haughty, severe, covetous, and prophane, upon all Occasions. When fifty English Gentlemen, who had been accused of hunting and killing Deer, had by the Trial of Fire-Ordeal escaped Condemnation, he passionately declar'd, *That he could not believe that God was a just Judge in suffering it.* Notwithstanding his severe and covetous Temper, there are Actions that shew he had sometimes a sense of Generosity, Justice, and good Nature; particularly, when a great Abby became vacant, and two rich and ambitious Monks came to purchase it of him according to his simoniacal Methods, he observ'd a third Monk at a Distance, and ask'd him, *What he would give him?* And receiving Answer, *That he would give nothing; and that it was against his Conscience;* he immediately swore his usual Oath, *That he alone deserved it, and should have it for nothing.* This King's Revenues were in all probability the same with his Father's; yet his Expences being greater, he rais'd more unreasonable Taxes: And to augment his Revenues, he frequently kept several Bishopricks and Abbies vacant, and took the Profits to himself; and

King WILLIAM II.

II

and at the time of his Death he had in his Hands the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, the Bishopricks of *Winchester* and *Salisbury*, and twelve rich Abbies; yet he gave the new Church of *St. Saviour's* in *Southwark* to the Monks, call'd, *De Charitate*; and also founded an Hospital in *York* to the Honour of *St. Peter*.

In the last Year of this Reign there happen'd a terrible Inundation in the County of *Kent*, which destroyed the Lands of Earl *Godwin*, now called the *Godwin-Sands*.

Whether our Historians have not been as much too severe in the Character of this Prince, as they were indulgent to his Father, is very much question'd: For tho' they tell us he was the worst Prince that ever reign'd; that he was destitute of Piety, Chastity, and Humanity, and will hardly allow him common Sense; yet we meet with hardly any other Instances of his Wickedness, than the keeping the Revenues of two or three Bishopricks and some vacant Abbies in his Hands, and his saying, *No Saint cou'd profit a Man any thing*; and, *That neither he nor any wise Man would make Intercession either to St. Peter, or any other Saint for their Help*.

Reflections
on his Character.

These were the Actions, and these the Sayings, that made the Monks and Religious of those Days look upon him as the most abandon'd Wretch; and these are the Men that had the transmitting of his Actions to Posterity. But shall his not praying to Saints be deem'd any Impiety by a Protestant Historian? Or shall we look upon him as the worst of Princes for detaining the Revenues of a vacant Bishoprick or Abby in his Hands, when we have seen others, who have met with a much milder Censure, seize and lay waste almost all the Possessions and Revenues of the Church? This is not equal Dealing. I must confess, it is possible this Prince might be guilty of all
the

the Vices he is charg'd with ; we cannot disprove them at this Day ; but it is highly probable he was not, since the Clergy, who were his mortal Enemies, have given us so very few Instances of that Nature.



H E N R Y I.

1100.

His Title.



HENRY I. surnam'd *Beauclerk*, youngest Son of *William I.* succeeded his Brother *Rufus* (*Robert*, his eldest Brother, being excluded, as is said, by their Father's Will.) But *Robert* returning from the *Holy Land*, rais'd an Army to dispute his Title ; and both Armies being drawn up and ready to engage, *Henry* propos'd a Treaty ; which being agreed to, *Robert* renounc'd his Pretensions to *England*, in Consideration that *Henry* would pay him 3000 *l.* per *Ann.* and restore to him some Lands in *Normandy*. So that if he was an Usurper the first Year of his Reign, he became rightful and lawful in the second, when this Treaty was concluded.

Some Years after, indeed, a new War broke out between the two Brothers ; and *Henry* having invaded *Normandy*, and made his Brother *Robert* Prisoner, sent him into *England*, and he remain'd a Prisoner in *Bristol* Castle to the time of his Death, which happen'd twenty seven Years afterwards. But as to the Story of King *Henry's* causing his Brother *Robert's* Eyes to be put out, and using other Cruelties towards him, they are not much to be credited ; some of our best Historians assuring us, that he was but a Prisoner at large, and us'd with all the Humanity imaginable.

King HENRY I.

13

Robert died in the Life-time of King *Henry I.* and left no Issue behind him.

Henry I. having appointed his Daughter the Empress *Maud* his Successor, died in *Normandy* on the 2d Day of *December*, in the 78th Year of his Age, and 36th of his Reign, *A. D.* 1135. His Age and Death.

He had Issue (by *Maud*, Daughter of *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his Queen, Niece to *Edgar Atheling*) only one Son, named *William*, who was drown'd in his Passage from *France*; and one Daughter, named *Maud*, married to the Emperor *Henry V.* and afterwards to *Henry Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, by whom she had Issue *Henry*, afterwards King of *England*; and two other Sons, viz. *Jeffery* and *William*, who died without Issue. His Issue.

Our Author observes, that during the long Reign of this Prince, the Nation scarcely felt any foreign Invasion or domestick Insurrection, except some inconsiderable Incursions of the *Welsh*; by which continu'd Peace, during three Reigns, *England* became a Place of Refuge, and a Sanctuary to the Afflicted and Distressed of foreign Nations. This King added much to its Strength and Glory, notwithstanding several severe Oppressions; defended the Land by numerous Garrisons, and built many Forts and Castles, besides twenty five Towns and Cities; in all which he manifested his extraordinary Parts and Abilities. He has been celebrated by some for the three glorious Felicities of Wisdom, Victory, and Riches; and condemned by others for three notorious Vices, Avarice, Cruelty, and Lust: The first three being manifested in his obtaining, keeping, and improving the Kingdom; and the last by his hard Taxes, his Severity to his Brother and others, and his numerous illegitimate Issue. As to his Person, he was of a middle Stature, strong and well-jointed, corpulent, of fine Eyes, and an amiable Countenance; His Character.

Countenance; in his Humour he was affable, and of a pleasant Conversation; and his Mind was enrich'd with many Virtues, being a Follower of Justice, a Lover of Religion, severe against Robbers, temperate in eating, and never drinking but for Thirst; vigorous and valiant in Battel, yet very circumspect, chusing rather to win by Conduct than Effusion of Blood; and by the Report of most Writers, he exceeded all the Princes of his Age in Greatness and Magnificence. Whatsoever was wisely and virtuously performed in his Government, is by these Writers chiefly attributed to his Education and Learning, in which his renown'd Father was very careful; often declaring, *That an unlearn'd King was but a crown'd Ass*. Upon which Account he often resided at his new Palace at *Oxford*, both for the Conversation of learned Men, and the Vicinity of a Park he made at *Woodstock*, which was the first known in *England*. His Works of Devotion appear from his Erection of the two Churches and Bishopricks of *Ely* and *Carlisle*, the Abbies of *Hide*, *Cirencester*, *Reading*, and the Priory of *Dunstable*. His Queen *Matilda* founded the Priory of the *Holy-Trinity* within *Aldgate* in *London*, and the Hospital of *St. Giles in the Fields*: So that by himself, his Queen, and other devout Persons, above twenty four religious Foundations were erected in this Reign.

Dr. *Brady* says, that Wheat to subsist a hundred Men one Day, was not, in this Reign, worth more than one Shilling; and Provender for twenty Horses, four Pence.

Reflections
on his Character.

When our Historians say, that the Nation knew no foreign Invasion, or domestick Insurrection in this Reign, I presume they do not look upon that great Invasion of *Robert Duke of Normandy*, or the Insurrection occasion'd by it, either of them to deserve their proper Denomination.

King HENRY I.

15

As to King *Henry's* Cruelty to his Brother *Robert*, I find the Fact disputed by our Historians. Some of them tell us, he was but a Prisoner at large, and had all the Satisfaction he could wish for in a private Life: And I am the rather inclin'd to this Opinion; because, in the Application the Pope made to King *Henry* to restore Duke *Robert*, he does not mention the Loss of his Eyes, or any other Cruelty us'd towards him.

How this Reign comes to be tumultuous in one Paragraph, and most pacifick in the next, I must leave to our Author to reconcile. As for the rest, the Character given this Prince seems just enough.



STEPHEN.



STEPHEN, Earl of *Bologne*, the Son of *Stephen* Earl of *Blois* by his Wife *Adela*, fourth Daughter of *William the Conqueror*, having render'd himself exceeding popular, and taking Advantage of the Empress *Maud's* Absence, seiz'd the Crown of *England* on the Death of *Henry I.* notwithstanding he himself, and all the Nobility of the Kingdom, Clergy and Laity, had in the Life of the late King sworn to the Succession of the Empress *Maud*. Various were the Subjects Pretences for breaking the Oath they had taken to the Empress, and adhering to *Stephen*.

1135.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* declar'd, that they were absolv'd of their Oath to the Empress, because she had married out of the Realm, without the Consent

His Pretensions to the Crown.

of the Nobility. That Condition, he said, they understood to be imply'd, when they took the Oath to her, *viz. That she should not marry out of the Realm without their Consent.*

That he was
adopted Heir.

But that which is said to have induc'd many of the Lords to submit to *Stephen*, is the Oath that *Hugh Bigot*, Steward to the late King, made before the Archbishop, *viz. That King Henry*, upon his Death-bed, adopted *Stephen* to be his Heir and Successor, having taken some Offence at the Conduct of his Daughter the Empress. And how false and improbable soever the Tale was, the Archbishop gave or pretended to give such Credit to it, that he proceeded to place the Crown upon *Stephen's* Head; and almost the whole Nation submitted, and swore Allegiance to him. And *Stephen* having seiz'd that prodigious Treasure the late King had amass'd together, and brought over an Army of Foreigners, so secur'd his Possession, that he met with little Opposition the two first Years of his Reign. Even *Robert* Earl of *Glocester*, natural Brother to the Empress, found the Torrent so strong, that he chose to submit for the present, and swear Fealty to *Stephen*; tho' our Historians observe, that he did it only to gain an Opportunity to destroy the Usurper: So little was the Majesty of Heaven rever'd in those Days, that Men dar'd to call on the tremendous Name of God to witness every Falshood, and by horrid Oaths endeavour to gain Credit with those Men they were at that instant studying to betray. 'Tis said they held, *that Man was not made for Oaths, but Oaths were instituted for the Use of Men; and therefore no Man ought to be a Slave to his Oath; but his Oath ought to be subservient to his Interest and Safety.*

The little
Regard Men
had to their
Oaths in
those Days.

Whether these Notions are reviv'd in our Days, every Man's Observation may inform him. But with what Face can Men reprove the common and

inadvertent

inadvertent Swearers, who are themselves guilty of the most solemn Perjuries? Is it possible to find a more effectual Way to establish Atheism and Infidelity, and banish all manner of Religion out of the World? He that can solemnly and deliberately call God to witness to a Falshood, does in effect proclaim there is no God; at least he puts himself out of his Protection, and bids Defiance to his Vengeance.

But to return from this Digression: There were some who held that the *Salique* Law ought to prevail in *England*; that a brave People, as the *English* were, ought not to be govern'd by a Woman. And this was thought a sufficient Reason with them for breaking their Oaths to the Empress; though if there was any thing in this Pretence, it ought to have been thought on before the Oath was taken. And indeed the many Shifts and Evasions made use of to excuse their Perjury, shew plainly, that they had not one good Reason for it; and that it was nothing but a prevailing Force, their Fears, and sordid Interest, that induc'd them to submit to *Stephen*. They discover'd indeed at times some Returns of Modesty, and endeavoured to cover their Shame with Fig-Leaves from the sight of others, though it cannot be supposed such poor Pretences could ever acquit them to God, or their own Consciences.

For we see these very People, who but the Year before could absolve themselves from their Oaths to the Empress, and frame Arguments for their Submission to the Usurper, when an Opportunity offered, publicly confessing their former Perjuries, and acknowledging that they looked upon their first Oath to the Empress to be still binding, and making what amends they could for their Disloyalty and Perjury, by hazarding their Lives in her Service. Nor did the Nation enjoy any tolerable

able Quiet from their admired Doctrine of *Greater Convenience*; but Battles and Sieges, Slaughter and Devastation, succeeded that universal Perjury for fifteen Years, almost without Intermission; and the Nation was sufficiently convinced, that the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, they hoped to have establish'd by Treason and Perjury, was no otherwise to be obtain'd but by their returning to their Allegiance, and by prevailing with the Usurper to exclude his own Son *William*, and declare the Son of the Empress *Maud* Heir to the Crown.

Even the Pope, and the Clergy, who were at first influenc'd in his Favour by his Wealth, Power, and fair Promises, and without whose Assistance he could never have mounted the Throne, would never consent to establish the Succession in his Family, though they look'd upon themselves oblig'd in point of Honour to continue him in the Possession of the Crown, to which they had advanced him, during his Life.

King Stephen's Age and Death.

His Issue.

King *Stephen* died within less than a Year after the Treaty concluded between him and Prince *Henry*, concerning the Succession (*viz.*) on the 25th of *October*, in the 50th Year of his Age, and the 19th of his Reign, *A. D.* 1154. He had Issue three Sons, *viz.* *Baldvin*, *Eustace*, and *William*, of whom *William* surviv'd him, but was excluded from succeeding to the Crown by the abovesaid Treaty. King *Stephen* had also two Daughters, *viz.* *Maud* and *Mary*.

His Character.

As to his Character, Mr. *Echard* tells us he had undoubtedly many princely Qualities, as Valour, Affability, and Generosity both to his Friends and Enemies; but at the same time he was unmeasurably ambitious, resolving to be no Slave to his Word or Oath, which brought vast Calamities upon him and others; yet he shew'd signal Marks of

of Devotion, particularly in the founding the Abbies of *Cogshall* in *Essex*, of *Furness* in *Lancashire*, *Feverham* in *Kent*, and the Nunneries of *Carew* and *Higham*. Setting aside his Ambition and unjust Title, he was an excellent Prince, none burthening their Subjects with fewer Taxes, nor governing with greater Clemency. And notwithstanding the many Insurrections, he is said never to have put one Man to Death. The Custom of holding the splendid Assemblies, or *Curia*, at the three great Festivals, which in the former Reign began to languish, by reason of the unsettled Times, was now wholly laid aside. These Times of Confusion also gave the Pope and Clergy great Opportunities to encroach upon the Regal Power, and to introduce new Laws, Usages and Customs; particularly the Pope's Canon-Law was now first brought into the Nation; which was compiled into a Code, or Body, by *Gratian*, and published by Pope *Eugene*, in the Year 1151. The Occasion of bringing it hither was a great Contest between the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the Bishop of *Winchester*, which brought over Lawyers from *Rome*, together with their Law, *Vicarius* being the first Professor of it in *Oxford*.

Notwithstanding our Historians commend this Prince for not burthening his People with Taxes, possibly they never suffered more in their Fortunes and Estates, than in this Reign. They never experienced such a continued Series of Rapine, Plunder, and Devastation, as was occasioned by his unjust Usurpation of the Crown. It was not practicable to levy regular Taxes during these Distractions; each Party, our Historians tell us, supported itself by the Plunder of the other; and when Men had lost their All, how should they be in a Capacity to give regular Supplies?

Reflections
on his Character.

The REIGN of

Another part of his Character is, that he put no Nobleman to Death in cold Blood. As to this we may observe, that capital Punishments were not very frequent in those Times. The Loss of Eyes, or Limbs, was then the usual Punishment for the greatest Offences. We see the Empress *Maud*, when she had the Usurper himself her Prisoner, spared his Life, though the taking of that would in all probability have been the Establishment of her Family. And she wanted no Pretences to have done Justice on him; he was her Subject, and a perjur'd Rebel, having himself sworn to her Succession, and yet invaded and usurped her Crown, without the least Shadow or Pretence of Right. But indeed thus much must be said in behalf of King *Stephen*, that he was not so hardened in Wickedness as some of his Successors: he could not, under a Mock-Shew of Justice, put Men to Death in cold Blood, only for doing their Duty to their lawful Sovereign.



HENRY II.

1154.
His Title.



HENRY II. call'd *Courtmantle*, eldest Son of *Jeffery Plantagenet*, Earl of *Anjou*, by *Maud* the Empress, the only surviving legitimate Issue of *Henry I.* began his Reign the 25th of *October*, 1154. He came over into *England* about the 7th of *December*, and was crowned at *Westminster* by *Theobald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the 20th of the same Month.

Objections to
it answered.

To this Prince's Title it is objected, 1. That his Mother *Maud* the Empress, from whom he derived his

King HENRY II.

21

his Right, was living many Years after his coming to the Crown. 2. That the Descendants of *Edgar Atheling* being nearer in Blood, ought to have enjoyed the Crown before him.

To the first of these Objections it is answered, That it is highly probable his Mother made over her Interest in the Kingdom of *England* to him, as it appears she and his Father *Jeffery* did to the Dukedom of *Normandy*.

That if the Empress was content to resign to him the Duchy of *Normandy*, of which she and her Husband were in quiet Possession, it is not at all unlikely she should yield to him the Crown of *England*, which she had put him upon recovering by Force; and in which Attempt he had so frequently, by her Direction, hazarded his Person.

That the Empress acquiescing in the Treaty with King *Stephen*, whereby her Son was appointed to succeed him, and the Joy with which our Historians tell us she received him at his Return to *Normandy*, amount almost to a Demonstration of her Concurrence.

As to the Descendants of *Edgar Atheling*, it nowhere appears that they laid Claim to the Crown of *England*, in this or the two preceding Reigns. On the contrary, *David* King of *Scotland*, Nephew and Heir of *Edgar*, swore to the Empress *Maud*'s Succession, and asserted her Right against King *Stephen*; and, by his steady Adherence to her Cause, contributed very much to the Advancement of her Son *Henry* to the Throne; which is deemed no small Evidence of his having quitted all Pretensions to the Crown of *England*; and consequently the Right of *Henry* could not be impeached by either of these Pretences: But it may be remembered further, that even the Right of Inheritance, pretended to be in the Descendants of *Edmund Ironside*, the Ancestor of

Edgar Atheling, has been shewn to be a Mistake; for that *Edmund* really made a Cession of the Kingdom to *Cnut*, from whom the Confessor derived his Right.

His Age and
Death.

Marriage and
Issue.

King *Henry II.* died on the 6th of *July*, in the fifty sixth Year of his Age, and the thirty fifth of his Reign, *A. D.* 1189. He had Issue by his Wife *Eleanor*, sole Daughter and Heir of *William* Earl of *Poictou*, and Duke of *Aquitain*, (who had been divorced from *Lewis VII.* King of *France*, as being too nearly allied to him) *William*, his eldest Son, who died an Infant. 2. *Henry*, his second Son, who at the Age of four Years was contracted to *Margaret*, only Daughter to *Lewis* King of *France*. (In the fifteenth Year of his Age this Prince was by his Father's Direction crowned King; and three Years after, his Match with the French Princess *Margaret* was consummated, and he was crowned a second time with his Queen *Margaret*, at *Winchester*, *Henry* the Father still looking on his Son but as his Viceroy; and the Son assuming a Power equal, or superior to the Father, occasioned a War between them, which continued till the Death of his Son, *A. D.* 1182.) 3. *Richard*, who succeeded him in the Throne. 4. *Jeffery*, who was killed in a Tournament at *Paris*, *A. D.* 1186. (This Prince had Issue by *Constance*, Daughter and Heiress to *Conan* Earl of *Bretagne*, one Son, named *Arthur*, afterwards Duke of *Bretagne*, and Earl of *Richmond*. He was taken Prisoner, and supposed to be murdered by his Uncle King *John*, his Father's younger Brother: *Jeffery* had also Issue one Daughter, named *Eleanor*, who was likewise imprisoned by her Uncle King *John*, and died in *Bristol* Castle, being unmarried, about the Year 1241.) 5. *John*, the fifth Son of *Henry II.* survived his Father, and was afterwards King of *England*. King *Henry II.* had also three Daughters, *Maud*, married to *Henry* Duke of

King HENRY II.

23

of Saxony; Eleanor, married to *Alphonso* King of *Castile*; and *Joanna*, married to *William* King of *Sicily*.

King *Henry II.* our Author informs us, was of a robust, sound Constitution, of a sanguine Complexion, and of a warm, martial Disposition. He had a strong and penetrating Understanding, which he daily improved by Conversation and Study, was valiant and vigorous in War, and prudent and politick in Peace, magnificent in Publick, frugal in Private, generous to Strangers, and sparing to his Domesticks, severe to Opposers, and mild to all Compilers. But though he had many shining Virtues, yet he knew not how to set Bounds either to his Ambition, or his Lusts. As to the former he was wont to say, *That the whole World was but sufficient for one great Man*; and the latter was so exorbitant as to occasion the greatest Calamities in his Reign. He was likewise covetous, and no strict Observer of his Word. So that upon the whole, he had such a Stock of Vices, as well as Virtues, natural Perfections and Imperfections so blended together, that he can neither be said to be an exceeding good, nor an exceeding bad Prince; all which were accompany'd with the like Measures of good and ill Fortune. Vices in Princes being more contagious than in private Persons, seldom escape God's Vengeance in this World; so the Adulteries, and perhaps Incests, of this Prince, met with their natural Punishment from the Fruit of his own Body, whose Disobedience brought him, in his latter Years, to see the Reverse of his former Fortunes, and all his Laurels to wither on a sudden: whereby we find, that neither the Number of his Children, the Extent of his Dominions, nor all his eminent Qualities, could make his Prosperity durable; but for want of a Conquest over his Passions, and a Command over himself, he lost that Empire he had obtained

His Character.

The REIGN of

obtained over others. Though this King never imposed many Taxes, yet he is said to have left behind him more than ninety thousand Pounds in ready Coin, besides Plate, Jewels, Household-goods, and an ample Provision for a War. In this Reign the unhappy Distinction between the Names of *Normans* and *English* was in a great measure ended. And Dr. *Hody* tells us, that in these Times the King's Court of Justice was where the King himself resided; and since the Courts were fixed in *Westminster-hall*, our Kings have sometimes sat there in Person, and not *incognito*, but openly, with their Crowns on their Heads, as they used formerly to sit in the *Curia*, held on the three great Festivals.

Reflections
on the Reign
and Character
of *Hen. II.*

The beginning of this King's Reign promised all Happiness to himself and People. He was arrived at a mature Age, and endowed with such Qualifications as are requisite to support and adorn a Throne. And as his Dominions were larger than any of his Predecessors, he had the good Fortune to possess them without a Rival.

As King *Stephen's* Title could not be supported without foreign Troops, and therefore he had introduced many thousands of *Flemmings*; these the King dismissed from their warm Seats, and sent them home in the beginning of his Reign. He resumed also the Crown-Lands and Rents that had been alienated by the Usurper, and razed the numerous Castles that had been erected during the Usurpation. And observing the Encroachments that had been made on the Prerogative by the Clergy in these tumultuous Times, he caused his Grandfather's Laws to be revived, and confirmed at *Clarendon*; from whence they obtained the Name of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. These were sworn to by all the Peers, Spiritual and Temporal, and even by *Thomas a Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; but he

King HENRY II.

25

he afterwards refused to subscribe them with the rest, and appealing to the Pope, was adjudged and declared a Traitor.

These Constitutions of *Clarendon* deserve to be recorded, to shew how our Forefathers opposed the Encroachments of the See of *Rome*, even in those dark Times. The most material of them, and which principally incensed the Pope against him, are as follow, viz.

1. That all Controversies between the Clergy and Laity should be try'd in the King's Courts.

2. That no Bishop, or Clerk, should go out of the Kingdom without the King's License; and, at their going, should swear to procure no Damage to the King, or the Realm.

3. That no Appeals be made to the Pope; but all Pleas in the Consistory shall be removed, 1st, To the Archdeacon's Court; 2dly, From thence to the Bishop's; 3dly, Thence to the Archbishop's; and lastly, To the King's.

4. That *Peter Pence* be paid to the King.

5. That Clerks guilty of Felony be hang'd, and for Treason be drawn and quartered.

6. That all Persons who are found bringing any Excommunications or Interdicts from *Rome* into *England*, be dealt with as Traitors.

It was the King's endeavouring to enforce and execute these Laws, that drew on him that Opposition from the Pope and *Becket*, and principally occasioned the Calamities in his Reign.

The King bravely bore up for many Years against the Pride and Bigotry of *Rome* (whose Power and Influence in those Days 'twas dangerous contending with) till some of the King's Dependants, disdainig to see their Royal Master so injuriously treated by a proud Priest, unfortunately killed *Becket*, as he was kneeling before the Altar of his Cathedral

dral Church of *Canterbury*, without the King's Knowledge.

But however innocent the King was of the Fact, the Church of *Rome* knew how to make her Advantages of it, and peremptorily charged it upon the King; and aggravating the tragical Circumstances of the Murder, were about to arm all the Princes in Christendom against him, till at length the King was obliged to submit, and undergo the severest and most ignominious Penance, and to enlarge and establish the Pope's Authority in his Dominions more firmly than ever.

This, considering the Superstition of the Times, was his Misfortune rather than his Fault. He deserves our Esteem, that he dar'd contend so long with that almighty See, and ought not to be censur'd, because he at last was vanquish'd.

But as to that other Affliction, the unnatural Rebellion of his Son, whether this is not to be imputed in a great measure to his own Indiscretion, I very much question: I mean the crowning his Son *Henry*, and communicating to him a share of Sovereign Power in his Life-time. Two Suns, it has been long since observ'd, may as well illuminate one Firmament, as two Sovereigns reign in one Kingdom. It was, no doubt, an Excess of Fondness that put him upon taking his Son into the Government. But so unhappy, so deprav'd is Man, that he cannot bear to be well used. Admit him once to be upon the Level with you; admit him to an equal Share of Power, and he will not long continue in that State. It is, I must confess, to be lamented, that a benevolent Temper cannot indulge its Inclinations without running such Hazards; that we are under a Necessity of being upon the reserve, and keeping at a distance those whom we love most.

There

King HENRY II.

29

There may be another Cause assign'd of this King's Misfortunes, and that is, his Amour with *Fair Rosamond*. We are told, that this so enraged the jealous Queen *Eleanor*, that she incited his Sons, and the *French King*, to take up Arms against him. As to the Story of his Familiarity with his Son *Richard's* Spouse, I don't give much Credit to it; 'tis very possible his good Friends the Clergy might throw this Scandal upon him.

Fair Rosamond the King's Concubine.



RICHARD I.



RICHARD I. surnam'd *Cœur de Lion*, was the third, but eldest surviving Son of *Henry II.* His Accession to the Crown is reckoned to be on the 6th of *July*, 1189; but he was then in *France*, and did not arrive in *England* 'till the middle of *August* following, and was crown'd the 3d of *September* at *Westminster*. As to his Title it was indisputable; I find no manner of Objection made to it. According to the Religion of those Times, he join'd his Forces with the *French King*, for the Recovery of the *Holy Land*; and in his return home was taken Prisoner, and long detain'd by the Emperor of *Germany*. During his Absence, his Brother *John* attempted to usurp his Dominions, but was defeated in his Designs by the Regency. However, King *Richard* leaving no Children, by his Will appointed his Brother *John* to succeed him in his Kingdom of *England*, and all other his Dominions; passing by the Children of his

1189.

His Title.

his Brother *Jeffery*, who were his immediate Heirs, according to lineal Succession.

His Marriage.

This King *Richard* was contracted in his Infancy to a Daughter of *Raymond*, Count of *Barcelona*; which Marriage not taking Effect, he was afterwards contracted to *Adela*, the Daughter of *Lewis VII.* but this Match was never consummated neither: And he was at last married to *Berengaria*, Daughter of *Sanctio VI.* King of *Navarre*, in his Voyage to the *Holy Land*. He was kill'd by an Arrow at the Siege of the Castle of *Chalons*, the 6th of *April*, in the 41st Year of his Age, and the 10th of his Reign, *A. D.* 1199, and left no Issue behind him.

His Character.

This Prince, says Mr. *Echard*, had somewhat of the Fierceness and Brutality of the Lion, as well as Courage and Bravery of that Creature; whose Disloyalty to his Father was punish'd with innumerable Troubles in his Reign; and whose voracious Temper met Death itself. As to his Person, he was very tall, of a fair and comely Visage; his Eyes blue and sparkling with Fire; his Hair between red and yellow; his Limbs strait; of a noble and majestic Mien, that seem'd worthy of Empire; his Courage and Prowess were great, beyond Exception; and so formidable to the *Saracens*, that it is said they were wont to still their crying Children, by telling them, *That King Richard was coming for them*; but withal, he was fearless, violent, and impetuous: He was very witty and eloquent, but with too great a Mixture of Pride and Arrogance; magnificent and liberal to Excess; which occasioned him at other times to be as covetous and rapacious. He was noted for *Pride*, *Avarice*, and *Luxury*, which were called his three Daughters; and being once urg'd to part with them, he in Raillery declar'd, *He would dispose of the first to the Templars, the second to the Monks, and the third to the Prelates.*

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Tho' he had many noble Qualifications, yet *England* suffered severely under his Government, thro' the constant Occasions he had for Money, and the great Rapacity of his Justiciaries during his Absence from *England*, where he never spent above eight Months of his whole Reign: So that his Subjects felt all the Inconveniences of his Courage, without being much the better for that, or his other good Qualities in time of Peace.

It is observable, that he who had reviv'd the Use of that fatal Engine the Cross-Bow, and had dispatch'd so many with it, perished likewise himself by the same Instrument.

In this King's Reign the City of *London* began first to receive the Form and State of a Commonwealth, and to be divided into Companies and Corporations, as at this Day.

Had King *Richard* liv'd in any other Times than when Superstition over-spread the whole Face of *Christendom*, he might have made an admirable Governor; but the Clergy seeing him a bold, active Prince, and likely to pry too inquisitively into their holy Cheats, diverted the Danger of his Enquiries, by insinuating into this brave, but bigotted Prince, how much it would conduce to his Glory, how much to the procuring him the Favour of Heaven, and the Pardon of his Sins, to recover that Country out of the Hands of the Infidels, which had been the Scene of all our Saviour's Miracles and Sufferings. This was a Stratagem they often practis'd on the like Occasions; and while Christian Princes were engag'd at that Distance from their Dominions, they omitted no Opportunity of introducing whatever might advance their Interest or Power over their Subjects.

'Twas this unfortunate fruitless Expedition to *Palestine*, that first occasion'd the King's oppressing his

his Subjects with such heavy Taxes; and his Captivity, which happen'd on his return home, occasion'd many more such; and so great they were, that had not the Clergy, who sent him on this Errand, thought themselves bound in Honour to procure his safe Return, and prevail'd with the People to part with what they had for these pious Ends, 'tis a Question whether ever his Ransom had been paid.

But notwithstanding this Prince had been detain'd a Prisoner by the Emperor a Year and half, and suffer'd many other Hardships, we find he was not so dispirited, but at his Return he asserted his Right to his Dominions on the other side the Water, that had been invaded by his treacherous Ally the *French King*, and gain'd a signal Victory over him at *Gisors*; and then it was he gave that Motto which the Kings of *England* have ever since retain'd in their Arms, viz. *Dieu & mon droit*.

As to those three Vices of Pride, Avarice, and Lust, which our Historians charge him with in general terms, without giving any considerable Instances of them, there is no great Credit to be given to the Charge.

The Clergy had little reason to complain of his Pride, who was so much at their Devotion. And for his Covetousness, tho' he levy'd great Taxes, we find he had greater Occasions for them than any of his Predecessors. Nor was it any sign of a covetous Temper, to sell his Demesne Lands to enable him to enter into a War where he could propose to gain nothing but Honour. His Lust too would have been more conspicuous, if he had left a numerous natural Issue; but I perceive our Historians are divided in their Opinions, whether he left one natural Son. And this Prince was so very remarkable for an easy placable Temper, that methinks 'tis pity he should be charged with Crimes he was most averse to.

How can he be then said to be of a brutish savage Disposition, who forgave his Brother *John* the greatest Injuries, even his Attempts to usurp his Throne in his Absence; and continued to heap fresh Favours on him notwithstanding? And at his Death he freely forgave the Man from whom he received his mortal Wound. These surely are not the Actions of a brutish savage Temper: But this is not the only Character that is given at random; we often meet with a flow of sounding pompous Expressions with very little Meaning; and 'tis well if one part of the Character does not contradict the other.

STANISLAUS

J O H N.



JOHN, commonly call'd *sans Terre*, the youngest Son of *Henry II.* succeeded his Brother *Richard*. He began his Reign the 6th of *April 1199*, and has been by many stil'd an Usurper; for that his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Britany*, the Son of his elder Brother *Jeffery*, was living at his Accession: But if the Kings of *England* had then a Right to dispose of the Crown by Will, as the Kings of *Spain* have at this Day, then may *John* be reckon'd in the Number of our Kings *de Jure*; for King *Richard* certainly appointed him his Successor; And it is strange so many of our Princes should take upon them to limit the Succession, and so many of them claim the Crown as Testamentary Heirs, if it was not apprehended in those Days, that the reigning Prince had a Power

1199.

His Title, and Pretensions to the Crown.

of appointing his Successor. However, this occasioned a Dispute between King *John*, and his Nephew *Arthur* the Son of *Jeffery*; which did not end but with the Life of Prince *Arthur*.

His Marriage and Issue.

King *John* was first contracted to *Alice*, eldest Daughter of *Humber*, Earl of *Maurienne* or *Savoys*; but she died before the Marriage was consummated. His second Wife was *Hawise*, youngest Daughter of *William* Earl of *Gloucester*; by whom he had no Issue. His third Wife was *Isabel*, the Daughter and Heir of *Aymer*, Earl of *Angolessin*, by whom he had Issue, 1. *Henry* his eldest Son, who succeeded him in the Throne; and, 2. *Richard*, afterwards King of the *Romans*. He had also three Daughters, *Joan*, *Eleanor*, and *Isabel*.

His Age and Death.

He died on the 18th of October, in the 55th Year of his Age, and the 18th of his Reign, A. D. 1216.

His Character.

In the Character Mr. *Echard* has given us of this Prince, he says, his chief Misfortunes were the natural Punishment of his Crimes, particularly his Ingratitude and Treason against his Father, and his treacherous as well as traiterous Practices against his Brother, which pursu'd him so close, that he was not only chastis'd by disloyal Subjects, and an ambitious Pope, but also lost more Territories in a few Years, than all his Successors ever did in thrice that Space of time. He indeed met with extraordinary Hardships both from Abroad and at Home; and these often put him upon exorbitant and illegal Practices, which still added to his own and the Nation's Misfortunes; yet, if he had met with a less usurping Pope, a less potent King, and a less turbulent Nobility to have manag'd, and also less envenom'd Writers to have transmitted his Story, he might have made a Figure of no small Renown in the World. His Nature and Fortune did never well agree; for he naturally lov'd Ease; yet his Fortune

was

was ever to be in Action. He was faithless, cruel, and violent; neither fit for Prosperity nor Adversity; for the one made him insolent, and the other dejected; so that a middle Fortune would have best suited with his Temper. He was extremely greedy of Money; which tho' it was got with great Noise, was usually spent in Silence; and he was very intemperate in his Pleasures; in his Lust exceeding his Father, and not sparing the Wives of the greatest Noblemen. He was extremely variable, sometimes very religious, as appears by his founding several Monasteries, and other Acts of Devotion; and at other times scarce a Christian, as appears from so many prophane Sayings related of him. And indeed the Monks have blacken'd his Memory with several strange Stories; as that he counterfeited the Bishops Seals, and writ abroad, that all *Englishmen* were become Infidels and Apostates, and therefore such should come to subdue them and take their Possessions: And at another time, that he offer'd his Kingdom to a *Moorish* King, and promis'd to embrace the *Mahometan* Religion; of which, these, and several others, are justly suspected by all judicious Writers.

This King, by his great and arbitrary Taxes, was a severe Oppressor; yet in several respects he was no bad Governour. For he was the first or chiefest who appointed those excellent Forms of Civil Government in *London*, and most Cities and incorporate Towns in *England*, and endow'd them with the greatest Immunities: The first who caus'd Sterling Money to be here coin'd: The first who ordain'd the honourable Ceremonies in the Creation of Earls: The first who settled the Rates and Measures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such like Necessaries: The first who gave to the Cinque-Ports the Privileges and Customs they now enjoy; And the

first who planted *English* Laws and Officers in *Ireland*, enlarging the Royal Stile with Lord of that Country, making by this some amends for his Losses in *France*. In this Reign we find the Prices of several Commodities, particularly, that Wheat at the highest was once six Shillings the Quarter, and eighteen Pence at the lowest rate. The Price of Wines was once fix'd thus; *Rochell* Wine at twenty Shillings the Ton, the Wine of *Anjou* at twenty four Shillings the Ton; and no other *French* Wine at above twenty five Shillings the Ton, unless it were some of extraordinary Goodness, which might be sold at twenty six Shillings and eight Pence the Ton.

A Review of
the Reign of
King *John*.

This Prince from the beginning of his Reign labour'd under insuperable Difficulties: Notwithstanding his Brother *Richard* had appointed him his Successor, his Nephew *Arthur*, Son to *Jeffery* his elder Brother, being supported by the *French* King, vigorously disputed his Title for some time, and had in all probability recover'd the Throne, had not King *John* made such large Concessions to his Barons and Clergy to secure them to his Interest.

The King had no sooner subdu'd Prince *Arthur*, and taken him Prisoner, but the Barons and Clergy looking upon King *John* as a Creature of their own making, begun to insist on such Demands as no Sovereign Prince would ever willingly comply with. The Pope took upon him also arbitrarily to dispose of the Archbishoprick of *Canterbury*, against his Consent; which the King resenting in a suitable manner, the Pope interdicted the whole Kingdom, excommunicated the King, absolv'd his Subjects from their Allegiance, and gave his Dominions to the *French* King, who had before depriv'd him of *Normandy*, and all his Dominions in *France*. His Barons too took up Arms against him, and maintain'd a successful

ful Rebellion. In these wretched Circumstances he found himself under a necessity of submitting to the Pope: He chose rather to become tributary to him, than to be a Slave to his own Subjects. But notwithstanding he had gain'd the Pope over to his Interest, the Barons remain'd still so much superior, that they extorted from him the great Charter at *Rummiede*. Indeed the King afterwards having some Advantage of them, declared the great Charter void, being obtain'd by Force, and procur'd a Dispensation from the Pope of all Obligations to perform it.

Hereupon the Barons invited over *Philip*, King of *France*, and were upon the Point of subduing their Prince by a foreign Power, when he ended his Life with Grief, as most of our Historians relate.

And now from this short View of this Prince's Difficulties, does he not rather deserve to be pitied than upbraided?

Reflections
on the Reign
of King
John,

He might possibly have been a happier Man in a private Station. But what Prince ever refused the Present of a Crown? There have been Instances of Kings indeed, who, having experienc'd the Cares and Difficulties of that exalted State, have resign'd their Scepters for a private Life: But Sovereign Power, in the Prospect, appears with such a dazzling Lustre; the Soul so dwells upon its Beauties, improves and magnifies them, and so industriously conceals all that may create her any Disturbance, that no wonder never any Mortal yet was able to resist its Charms.

Had King *John* foreseen and considered how the Power and Prerogative of an *English* King must be restrain'd and limited by such Concessions as he made to his Clergy and Barons at his Accession; with what Arrogance and Insolence they would probably treat him to whom they pretended he was indebted for his Crown he would have spurn'd the Bauble from him.

But possibly he might hope, when he was once established, to force or wheedle them out of all he had promis'd; and if it was with this View he mounted the Throne, (tho' Multitudes of Princes have acted the same treacherous Part) then did he justly deserve all the Calamities that came upon him.

Not that I would be thought to justify the Tyranny and Encroachments of the See of *Rome*, or the Rebellion of the Barons. Nothing is more common in these bloody Contentions, than to find both Sides extremely in the wrong.

If the Clergy and Barons were satisfy'd in King *John's* Title, and yet extorted such Conditions from him as were inconsistent with the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom at that time, and were plain Encroachments on the Prerogative of the Crown, their Cause is not to be defended. Nor will it appear much better, if we find they plac'd King *John* upon the Throne, knowing him to have no just Title, to the Prejudice of Prince *Arthur*, only to gain an Opportunity to clip the Wings of the Prerogative, deprive the Crown of its just Rights, and assume such Power and Privileges to themselves, as were before unknown to the Constitution.

The great Charter obtain'd at *Runnimeade* contains many good Laws, and most of them, I believe, were the Laws of *England* before; but I don't think they gain'd any Addition to their Authority from the Concessions that were made there, they being obtain'd by Force. And the Nation seems sensible of this, by their many Applications to the Throne to have them confirm'd in more peaceable Times.

But let us consider a little more particularly King *John's* Title to the Crown, and his Behaviour towards Prince *Arthur*, and the Princess *Eleanor*, the Children of *Jeffery* his elder Brother,

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If we suppose that King *Richard* either did not appoint his Brother *John* his Successor, or that by the Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom he had no Right so to do, to the Exclusion of his Brother *Jeffery's* Children, who were the next Heirs by Proximity of Blood; then was King *John's* Reign but one continu'd Usurpation, and his Treatment of his elder Brother's Children most unjust and barbarous.

But if it be admitted that King *John* was Testamentary Heir to his Brother *Richard*, and that *Richard* might legally dispose of the Crown to whom he saw fit; then the imprisoning his Nephew *Arthur*, who had enter'd into an Alliance with the King of *France*, and taken up Arms in order to dethrone him, will appear more just and necessary.

Now I think it will be granted, that at this day the King alone, without the Consent of Parliament, cannot break into or alter the Succession; because he is not now vested with a legislative Authority; and the Succession being settled by the whole Legislature, no Power less than the Legislature can suspend or alter it.

But that the whole legislative Power was solely in the King, for some Reigns after the Conquest, will easily be made evident from our Histories, and those antient Grants and Patents from the Crown, which are extant at this day, and which are universally receiv'd and acknowledg'd to have the same Force and Authority as the modern Statutes, which were enacted by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, and by the Authority of the same.

The Question is, how long it was before our Kings communicated any Share of the legislative Power to their Subjects, and their Consent was required to the enacting Laws. For from that time, I believe, it will be admitted, that the King alone

cou'd not alter either the Common or Statute Law of this Realm; and consequently cou'd not alter the Descent of the Crown, which by the Common Law was certainly hereditary; and if there was any Doubt to be made of it, the many Acts of Parliament that have been made since declaring it to be so (and not one intimating it to be elective) I think is Authority sufficient to satisfy any private Man.

The first Account we have in our Histories of a King of *England* assembling the great Men of this Realm, is in the Reign of *Henry I.* and these Assemblies, tho' some are pleas'd to call 'em Parliaments, had at first no more to do in the enacting Laws, than our Privy-Council has at present, and were compos'd only of such Persons as his Majesty was pleas'd to call or nominate, and nothing expected from them but simply their Advice.

Even the great Charter, when it was confirm'd by *Henry III.* as it is plac'd in the front of the Statute-Book, runs in this Stile: *To all Archbishops, &c. Know ye that We, unto the Honour of Almighty God, and for the Salvation of the Souls of our Progenitors and Successors, Kings of England, to the Advancement of Holy Church, and Amendment of our Realm, of our meer and free Will, have given and granted to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and to all Freemen of this our Realm, these Liberties following.*

Here is nothing of the Advice or Consent of the Assembly mention'd, to give it a Sanction; and yet this Charter, Grant, or Patent, call it what you will, is reckon'd at least of equal Authority with any of our Acts of Parliament; from whence it is infer'd, that even in the Reign of *Henry III.* which is two Reigns after *Richard I.* the whole legislative Power was in the King, and consequently the Succession of
the

the Crown was then at his Disposal; tho' it is not in the Prince's Disposal at this Day, for the Reasons above-mention'd. And if it be admitted that King *Richard* did dispose of the Crown to his Brother, as our Historians relate, then is King *John* to be plac'd in the number of our lawful Princes, which will very much extenuate many of those Facts which seem to bear the hardest upon his Character.

As for the Vices or Virtues of this Prince, any further than we can collect from his publick Actions, we must not pretend to affirm any thing at this Day, having nothing but the Relations of the Monks (who hated him heartily) to found an Opinion upon.

It is a little to be admir'd, with what face the Religious cou'd fall upon him for keeping a Concubine or two, when what enrag'd them most against him was the taking away theirs (their *Focaria*, as *Matthew Paris* calls them.)

As to what the Historian above-cited says of him, *That if he had met with a less turbulent Nobility, &c. he might have made a Figure of no small Renown in the World*; it does not seem consistent with what he says four Lines after, *That he lov'd his Ease, was faithless, cruel, and violent, extremely greedy of Money, intemperate in his Pleasures, exceeding his Father in his Lusts, &c.* For if the last part of this Character was true of him, methinks his Infamy must have exceeded his Renown, let his Fortune have been what it wou'd in the World; but 'tis impossible to be voluminous, and absolutely free from Inconsistencies and Contradictions.

H E N R Y



HENRY III.

1216.

His Title.



HENRY III. eldest Son of King *John* and Queen *Isabel*, succeeded his Father in the Throne. There are those that look upon this Prince also as an Usurper; because *Eleanor*, the Daughter of *Jeffery* his Uncle, was then living; but this Princess, dying without Issue, in the twenty fifth Year of his Reign, from thenceforth at least King *Henry's* Title must be admitted to be indisputable, and we may venture to enroll him among our Kings *de Jure*.

His Marriage and Issue.

In the Year 1236 he married *Eleanor*, second Daughter and Co-heir of *Raymond Berengar*, Earl of *Provence*; by whom he had Issue, 1. *Edward* his eldest Son, who succeeded him in the Throne; 2. *Edmund* his second Son, surnamed *Crouchback*, afterwards Earl of *Lancaster*, and from whom the House of *Lancaster* deriv'd their Title, under pretence that *Edmund* was the eldest Son of *Henry III.*

His Age and Death.

King *Henry III.* had also three Daughters by Queen *Eleanor*, viz. *Margaret*, *Beatrice*, and *Katherine*.

He died at his Palace of *Westminster*, on the 20th Day of *November*, in the sixty sixth Year of his Age, and the fifty seventh of his Reign, *A. D.* 1272.

His Character.

Echard says of this Prince, he was so variable and uncertain, that it is hard to give a just Account of him. We find that he was naturally wilful and passionate, easily provok'd to Anger, and as easily appeas'd; fickle and unconstant both in his Love and Hatred; for he never had so great a Favourite but

but he threw him into Disgrace; nor so great an Enemy but he receiv'd him into Favour. He was by Nature easy and merciful; so that if he acted too rigorously in any thing, it is to be imputed to his chief Ministers, who had a full Ascendant over him; for he was scarce ever *sui Juris*, being always under the Government of others, and too often of Strangers: And indeed it may be justly said of him, that he was a much better Man than a King and Governor; for tho' he oppress'd his Subjects with unreasonable Taxes, often broke his Coronation Oath, and as often violated his own Charters (for which he never miss'd of Punishment) yet he was nevertheless remarkable for his Devotion towards God, his Charity towards the Poor, and his Chastity as to himself. As to the former, he us'd to prefer Prayers before Sermons, alledging, *That he had rather converse with his Friend than hear from him*. As to his Charities, *Lewellyn*, Prince of *Wales*, was wont to say, *That he more dreaded the Power of his Alms, than all his Forces and Clergy together*; and his Chastity has been celebrated by several Writers, as being a Virtue too rare in Princes, and unknown to all his Predecessors of the *Norman* Race, besides *William I.* But as for his personal Valour and Courage, he was not much noted; his greatest Happiness was in his admirable Son, who ended all civil Troubles, and afterwards by his Prudence and Fortitude rais'd the *English* Monarchy to a great Part of its ancient Glory.

In this Reign, stealing of Cattle, which before was but pecuniary, is said to have been first made capital. And as to Weights and Measures, some of them were by Law fix'd thus: An *English* Penny, call'd a *Sterling*, round, and without clipping, was to weigh thirty two Wheat Corns taken out of the midst of the Ear; and twenty Penies were to make an Ounce; twelve Ounces one Pound; eight Pounds a Gallon

a Gallon of Wine; and eight Gallons a *London* Bushel, the eighth part of a Quarter. In the forty first Year of this Reign, the King coin'd a Penny of pure Gold, of the Weight of two *Sterlings*, and commanded that it should pass for twenty Shillings, which was the first Piece of Gold we find was coin'd in *England*.

Review of
the Reign
and Character
of Henry III.

It is an Unhappiness both to Prince and People, when a Prince comes too early to his Throne. Those about him have generally Interests to manage so different from those of the Subject, or even of their Royal Master, that they too frequently use his Name and his Authority to ruin both: They raise in him also such Prejudices, and give him such Impressions in his pliant Youth, as is very difficult for him to shake off or conquer all his Life after. And we may observe further, that People who are used to Leading-strings, and to resign their Affairs and Understandings to others, hardly ever know how to act without them: They do indeed change their Governors or Ministers now and then, as Chance or Passion moves them; but a Governor they know not how to live without. This was very much the Case of *Henry III.* whose natural Endowments, if he had exerted them, seem sufficient to have render'd his People, and himself, easy and happy enough. But he, even after he came of Age, threw himself first upon one Favourite, and then upon another, suffering himself to be entirely guided by them; and this either out of a Distrust of his own Abilities, or out of an indolent Disposition, and an immoderate Desire of indulging his own Ease, which frequently defeats itself, and brings all that Care and Trouble upon us we fondly seek to avoid.

And when the Necessity of the Times compell'd him to look abroad, and attend the Administration of his Affairs, such Force had those pernicious
Prepos-

King HENRY III.

43

Prepossessions he had imbib'd in his Youth, that it was very long before he could entirely disengage himself.

Of this sort was that Veneration, or Bigotry, he had entertain'd for the See of *Rome*.

His Governors, on his Accession, at nine Years of Age, had made him do Homage to the Pope for his Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and swear to pay him the annual Tribute granted by King *John*; and he had ever been instructed by them to pay as great Devotion to the Pope as to God himself, and to look upon him as the greatest Support of his earthly Throne, as well as the Dispenser of his future Happiness.

Indeed, the Pope's Power was exceeding great in those Days; and in the Distresses the King was reduc'd to by his rebellious Barons, perhaps, the surest Refuge he could fly to; and this, no doubt, was a further Inducement for his Submission to the See of *Rome*: And when he was every Day threaten'd, and in imminent Danger of being dethron'd by his Subjects, whom nothing we find would satisfy but the divesting him of his whole Regal Power, can he be much blamed for making use of the Pope, or any other foreign Aids?

If the Barons had done no more than insisted upon the establishing the great Charter, their Rebellion might possibly have admitted of some Apology; but when they proceeded to compel their King to make over, and delegate his whole Authority to them at *Oxford*, what can be alledged in their Excuse? Unless we are of the Opinion of some modern Politicians, that when a King misbehaves himself, the People, who are Judges of his Actions, may call him to Account, *depose, banish, or execute him*, as they see fit.

As

As to the frequent Breach of his Oaths and Promises, with which this King is upbraided, I do not think the Pope's Dispensation could entirely excuse him, though it was then the receiv'd Opinion, that the Pope's Power would almost sanctify any Fact, how vile soever. But if it was true, as this Prince told his Barons once, when they charged him with his Breach of Faith, *That they did not perform their part of the Agreement*, and that his Oath was but conditional, this will in a great measure extenuate, if not wholly clear him of the Guilt of Perjury.

But admitting the King did break his Oath, which is acknowledged to be a very ill thing, does that divest him of his Kingly Office? Did that immediately absolve the Barons from their Allegiance; and justify their Rebellion?

If a Father swears to allow his Son such and such Privileges, and afterwards refuses them, does his paternal Authority cease? And is there no Duty afterwards to be paid by the Son to his Parent?

Or suppose a Subject swears to perform certain Services to his Prince, does his Neglect to perform them give the Prince a Power to seize his whole Estate? No doubt the utmost that will be granted in the last Case, is, that the Prince may compel the Performance of such Services as the Subject has sworn to pay. And I do not know how a Prince could legally do thus much; for though 'tis true a Subject is a perjur'd Villain for not performing what he swears to do, yet I think nothing is more plain, than that a Man may be obliged in Conscience to do many Things which the Law will not compel him to do. Indeed, was it stipulated at a King's Accession, that whenever he breaks such and such Laws that his Authority shall determine, as it is in *Poland*; or if we could discover any Footsteps of the original Contract so much talk'd of,

King HENRY III.

43

then indeed there might be some Colour for this Doctrine.

But to return to the Barons : Dr. Brady, in his Preface to the History of England, tells us, that in this King's Reign the Controversy was not about the great Charter itself, the granting and confirming whereof he never denied, but only about the Meaning and Interpretation of it, which then by Law belong'd to the King : *De Chartis vero Regis & factis Regum non debent nec possunt Justiciarii nec privata persone disputare ; nec etiam si in illa dubitatio oriatur, possunt eam interpretari, & in dubiis & obscuris vel si dictio aliqua duos continens intellectus, Domini Regis erit expectanda Interpretatio & Voluntas, cum ejus sit interpretari cuius est condere.* Concerning the Charters of the King, or Deeds of Kings, neither the Justices, or any private Persons, ought or may dispute ; nor when there may arise a Doubt in any of them may they interpret it ; for in doubtful and obscure Passages, if any Word contains two Meanings, the King's Mind and Interpretation is to be expected, since he that made and granted ought to interpret it.

The Barons and Bishops, as often as they had a mind to quarrel with the King, clamoured against him for not observing the Charter of their Liberties, and he thought they extended it too far. Thus they began, and as oft as they pleased could improve these Clamours almost into a perfect Rebellion, especially if they prefaced them with the Invasion of the Liberties of Holy Church ; for then, by the Assistance of the Clergy and Religious, they equally influenc'd the People, and moved them to Sedition and Tumult, as pretended Oppression of Conscience, and destroying their Religion, by the Management of the Dissenting Brethren, do at this Day.

From

From hence it was they stiffly insisted upon it to have a Power to choose the Justiciary, or Chief-Justice, and send into the several Countries itinerant Justices, such as might interpret the Points of the Charters, and execute the Laws to their Advantage, and according to the Humour and Clamour of the People of the Faction.

But notwithstanding their objecting to the King his Neglect, and Non-observation of the Charter, they either would not be, or thought not themselves obliged by it; they used and practised arbitrary Dominion and Power over their Tenants and Neighbours, refusing to be justify'd (that is, to receive Justice) from the King and his Court, or to observe the Articles of the great Charter which concerned them; for Remedy whereof the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, twentieth and twenty second Chapters of the Statute of *Marlborough*, made in the 52d Year of *Henry III.* were provided: So that we see those factious Barons, when they had secur'd their own Liberties, rather made use of them to oppress than relieve their Tenants and Neighbours.

The Practices of these Men were not well understood by our ordinary Writers, who have nothing but what they commonly find in the Monks, the only Historians of those Times; and they wrote the Actions of Kings and great Men, and rendered them good or bad, as they were more or less kind and beneficent to the Church, Churchmen, and themselves; and extoll'd, or defam'd them, as they appeared for, and favour'd their Ecclesiastick Liberty.

Who would not think *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leicester*, a great Patron of the Liberties of the People, a Saint, an innocent Person, and good Subject, that barely reads the Monks of those, and succeeding

ing Times, and such modern Writers as have since follow'd them? He professed himself the Champion of Church-Liberty, and by that means made himself the Darling and Favourite of these Men, and the whole Clergy; and they gave him a Character, and transmitted his Memory to Posterity accordingly; though really he was the greatest Hypocrite and Traitor that had been heard of in that Age.

But it has been very well observed, that these Contentions between the King and the Barons were of infinite Advantage to the common People of *England*, who till then were in a Condition little better than Slaves to the Barons and great Men. The Barons, in order to strengthen themselves, granted great Liberties and Immunities to their Vassals and Tenants, and enfranchis'd many of them. And Dr. *Brady* takes notice, that 'twas in this Reign that the Commons were first represented in Parliament by Knights of Shires, and Burgeses from the Corporations; that the Parliament which *Simon Montfort*, Earl of *Leicester*, call'd in the King's Name, when he had him his Prisoner, was the first that was so constituted: And very probably *Montfort* complimented the Commonalty with these Privileges, in order to establish his Dominion as well against his Confederates the Rebel Lords, as against the Royal Family; for finding that several of the most considerable Barons forsook him, and went over to the King's Party upon his refusing them a Share in the Government, and that they had discovered his Intentions of usurping the sovereign Power himself, he, by this Stratagem, endeavoured to wheedle the Commons into his Interest, and thereby support his usurp'd Authority: And succeeding Kings looking upon the introducing this third Estate as an effectual Means to suppress the

The first Parliament called as now constituted.

exorbitant Power of the Barons, were pleas'd to continue them ever after; and from time to time to confirm and enlarge their Privileges to that degree, that we have seen them too, in their Turn, usurp sovereign Power, dethrone their Prince, and vote the other two Estates useless.

To conclude the Observations on this Reign: The King, after fifty Years Contention with his Clergy and Barons, and various Turns of Fortune, sometimes victorious, at other times a Prisoner; sometimes exercising an unbounded, arbitrary Rule, and at others enjoying little more than the Name of King; now, in his declining Age, having subdued all Opposition, reign'd prosperously the last five Years, leaving his Kingdom in Peace to his Son *Edward*; in such a profound Peace, that tho' his Son was then in the *Holy Land*, no Disturbance happened till he returned and took Possession of his Father's Throne.



EDWARD I.

1272.



EDWARD I. surnamed *Longshanks*, eldest Son of *Henry III.* by *Eleanor* his Queen, began his Reign the 20th of November 1272. He was not crown'd till the 19th of *August*, in the second Year of his Reign, being upon his Return from the *Holy Land* when his Father died.

Examination
of his Title.

It was disputed, I perceive, by the *Lancastrians*, whether this Prince was really the eldest Son of *Henry III.* They gave out that his Brother *Edmund*, commonly

King EDWARD I.

49

monly called *Crouchback*, was the eldest, and say he was set aside for his Deformity; and upon this was grounded that Contention between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*. But it appears, that this was but a Pretence; for *Edward* was born the 16th of *June* 1239, and *Edmund* on the 16th of *January* 1245.

King *Edward* I. had two Wives, viz. *Eleanor*, his first Wife, Sister to *Alphonso*, King of *Castile*, and Daughter to *Ferdinand* III. to whom he was married in the 39th Year of his Father *Henry* III. His second Wife was *Margaret*, Sister to *Philip* IV. King of *France*, surnamed the *Fair*, and eldest Daughter of *Philip* the *Hardy*, to whom he was married *Anno* 1299, in the 27th Year of his Reign.

His Marriages.

By *Eleanor*, his first Queen, he had Issue, *John*, *Henry*, and *Alphonso*, who died young: *Edward*, his fourth and youngest Son by this Queen, succeeded him in the Throne. He had also Issue by Queen *Eleanor* nine Daughters, viz. *Eleanor*, *Joan*, *Margaret*, *Berenice*, *Alice*, *Mary*, *Elizabeth*, *Beatrix*, and *Blanch*.

And Issue.

By *Margaret*, his second Wife, King *Edward* had Issue two Sons, viz. *Thomas* of *Brotherton*, afterwards Earl of *Norfolk*; and *Edmund* of *Woodstock*, afterwards Earl of *Kent*; and only one Daughter, named *Eleanor*.

King *Edward* I. died in *Scotland* the 7th of *July*, in the 68th Year of his Age, and the 35th of his Reign, *A. D.* 1307.

His Age and Death.

Mr. *Echard* sums up his Character in these Words; viz. He was a Prince of great Renown, in whose valiant Breast, as Mr. *Cambden* expresses it, God seem'd to have pitched his Tent; and, as well by his Courage and Wisdom, as by his Gracefulness and Strength of Body, to have raised him to the highest Pitch of Majesty; so that he is deservedly ranked among the greatest Ornaments of *Britain*. He was taller than ordinary Persons by

His Character.

the Head and Shoulders, of a comely Aspect, having black and curled Hair, and Eyes often sparkling like Fire, being born and bred up to great and military Actions; yet his Wit and Understanding were no less than his Valour and Bravery; and he had both an Ability of Judgment within himself, and also a Readiness to hear the Judgment of others. He was a wise Observer of Opportunity, wary and provident of his own Business, vigilant and vigorous in all publick Affairs, severe in Points of Justice, and not easily appeased when thoroughly provoked; and in Continency equal to his Father, whom he far exceeded in all other Respects. He was also an excellent Governor; yet his Vigour and Ambition did sometimes overflow, and bear hard upon his Subjects; so that his Valour and Power were more for the Grandeur than for the Quiet of *England*; and never any King before, or since him, shed so much Christian Blood within the Isle of *Britain*, as this Christian Warrior did in his Time, with what he occasioned afterwards. He advanced the Sovereignty of the Crown of *England* over the Kingdom of *Scotland* more than any of his Predecessors. But leaving the Work not fully finished, from henceforth the Dominion of the Kings of *England* over that Realm became less and less, till at length it was diminished to nothing.

As this *Edward* was the first Son of a King of *England* that differenc'd his Arms with a *File*; so he was the first King of *England* that bore his Arms upon the Caparisons of his Horse, as may be seen by his Royal Seal.

From the 22d Year of this Reign we have an uninterrupted Series of Parliaments down to our own Times, in *Summonitiones ad Parliamentum*, by Sir *William Dugdale*; and in his Time the present Constitution

of

of our Parliaments was so far establish'd, that by a Law solemnly publish'd, as an Addition to *Magna Charta*, with Excommunications, it was enacted, That no Tax should be levy'd without the Consent of the Knights and Burgeses in Parliament. In the 27th Year of this Reign an Order was made concerning the Price of Victuals: A fat Cock to be sold at three half-pence, a fat Capon for two Pence half-penny, two Pullets for three half-pence, a Goose for four Pence, a Mallard for three half-pence, a Partridge for three half-pence, a Pheasant for four Pence, a Heron for six Pence, a Plover for a Penny, a Swan for three Shillings, a Crane for twelve Pence, two Wood-Cocks for three half-pence, a fat Lamb, from *Christmas* to *Shrovetide*, for sixteen Pence, and all the Year after for four Pence. Wheat was once sold for twenty Pence a Quarter, and in some Places for sixteen Pence.

Taxes not to be levy'd but by Consent of Parliament.

Price of Provisions in this Reign.

To take a further Review of this Prince's Reign and Character: King *Edward* I. had the good Fortune to subdue the *Welsh*, and annex that Principality to the Crown of *England*. He also made a Conquest of *Scotland* more than once; but neglecting to build Forts in proper Places, and bridle them with Garrisons, as has been practis'd in all other conquer'd Countries, they soon recover'd their Liberty, and expell'd their *English* Masters.

Review of the Reign and Character of King *Edward* I.

In his Wars in *France* King *Edward* had not, I confess, that Success he might reasonably have expected, meeting with such another Emperor for his Ally, as the *English* were bless'd with in the late Reigns. The Emperor receiv'd vast Sums of Money of the King, but rais'd no Men, or gave him any manner of Assistance, as he had stipulated; but left the whole Weight of the War upon the *English*; so that King *Edward* was forc'd to return to *England* with Disgrace.

These various Expeditions occasion'd the King to demand vast Supplies both of the Clergy and Laity. The Clergy excus'd themselves, under Colour of the Pope's Bull, that prohibited them paying Taxes to temporal Princes without his Approbation: But the King briskly seizing upon their Temporals, without giving them Leisure to consult the old Gentleman at *Rome*, they were oblig'd to comply, and buy their Peace very dear.

The Laity indeed rais'd some Supplies, but not answerable to the King's Necessities: Whereupon he levy'd a Tax upon Wool, against their Consent, and seiz'd all manner of Provisions his Officers could lay their Hands on, for supplying his Fleet and Army, without paying any thing for them; and he required all the Barons, and others that held by military Tenures, to attend him in his Wars in *Flanders*: Which they peremptorily refus'd, alledging, that they were not oblig'd by Law to attend him in foreign Wars; and instead of obeying his Summons, when he was ready to embark his other Troops for *Flanders*, they sent him the following Roll of their Grievances.

Articles of
Grievances
offer'd to
Edward I.

These are the Injuries and Grievances which the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, and Barons, and the whole Community of the Land, do shew unto our Lord the King; humbly beseeching him, that for his own Honour, and the Safety of his People, he would correct and amend them.

First, It seemeth to the Community of the Land, that the Summons sent them by the King's Writ was not sufficient; because the Place whither they were to go was not nam'd; for according to that, they were to prepare themselves, and make Provision of Money.

Secondly, Whether they ought to perform Service or not; because 'tis said in general Words, the

King

King would pass over into *Flanders*. It seems to the Community, that there they ought to do no Service; because neither they, nor their Predecessors or Progenitors, ever perform'd their Service in that Land. And tho' it was so, that they ought to do it, yet they were not able, being so oppress'd with Tallages, Aids, and Takings or Prizes, as of Wheat, Oats, Malt, Wool, Leather, Oxen, Cows, powder'd Meat, without paying for them, by which they were supported.

Thirdly, They say they cannot pay Taxes, by reason of their Poverty, proceeding from the Tallages and Takings aforesaid; because they had scarce wherewithal to support themselves; and many were in such Condition, as they had not wherewith to till their Lands.

Fourthly, The whole Community of the Land thinks itself very much grieved, that they are not used according to the Laws and Customs of the Land, as their Predecessors have been.

Fifthly, They were griev'd and oppress'd, that *Magna Charta*, or the Great Charter, was not observ'd; and that the Charter and Assize of Forests was not observ'd according to Custom.

Sixthly, The whole Community thought itself griev'd by the Imposition upon Wool, which was too burthenfom at 40 s. per Sack, and of Wool for common use, seven Marks for the same Quantity; for that the Wool of *England* amounted to almost half the Value of the whole Land; and this Imposition amounted to the fifth part of the Value of it. Then they conclude, that because the Community wish'd the King Honour and Safety, as they were bound to do, it seem'd to them it was not good for him to pass into *Flanders*, unless he were assured, that People were true to him and his People; and also in regard of *Scotland*, which now began to rebel,

and would do so much more, when they knew he was beyond Sea.

The King being under a necessity of pursuing his Voyage, dissembled his Resentment, and only desired they wou'd raise no Disturbance in his Absence. The Barons nevertheless prohibited the levying even the 8th Penny, that had been granted the King by the Laity in *Parl'*, and drew over the City of *London* to their Party; and the Bishops and Clergy had been so exasperated by the King's seizing their Effects, that they were very ready to join with the Barons. At length they compell'd the King to pass that famous Statute *de Tallagio non concedendo*, whereby the King was restrain'd from levying Taxes without Consent of Parliament. They also oblig'd him to confirm the great Charter, and to enlarge the Charter of the Forest.

*Statut' de
Tallagio non
concedendo,
pass'd.*

All these things this crafty Prince submitted to, 'till he had ended his Wars in *Flanders*, and subdu'd *Scotland*.

But he no sooner found himself Sovereign of the whole Island, and disengag'd from foreign Wars, but he call'd the Authors of these Demands, one by one, to a strict Account; first the Earl of *Norfolk*, Earl-Marshal; then the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and afterwards the rest of 'em who had been most active in compelling him to make the aforesaid Concessions; and he made them glad to buy their Peace, with the Loss of great part of their Estates. He also procur'd the Pope to absolve him from his Oaths to observe the aforesaid Statutes.

And as the Clergy had been very instrumental in reducing his Prerogative, so did the King take care to weaken their Authority. He seiz'd the Effects of such as refus'd to submit to his Impositions, and imprison'd those who brought over, or publish'd any Excommunications against his Officers; and the
Pope's

King EDWARD I.

55

Pope's Affairs being very much embarrass'd at that time, he compell'd 'em to submit. He also procur'd the Statute of *Mortmain*, to prevent any encrease of their Revenues; and at last admitting the Pope to share with him in the Spoils of the Clergy, he found himself in a Condition to fleece them without Controul, and us'd them with as little Mercy as a Heretick Prince wou'd have done.

And now if we sit down and reflect on this King's Reign, what is there that deserves those large Encouragements our Historians have bestow'd upon him? Or what mighty Benefits did the Nation reap from his Reign? He annex'd *Wales* to the Crown of *England* indeed, which was tributary to us before. He conquer'd *Scotland* at a prodigious Expence of Blood and Treasure, but took no proper Measures to secure it; and the *English* reap'd no more Advantage by that War, than by the other in *Flanders*: The Wealth and Strength of the Nation was exhausted, and no manner of Advantage acquir'd. And to support these Wars, Taxes were arbitrarily levy'd, and the People plunder'd of their Goods, without any manner of Satisfaction, till he was in a manner compell'd to it. From the *Jews* he squeez'd immense Sums, for permitting them to remain in *England*; and soon after banish'd them, upon his Subjects advancing him a Sum of Money.

Reflections
on the Reign
of Edw. I.

In short, this Kingdom has never been so peel'd and plunder'd as by those warlike Princes, whose Actions our Historians seem so infinitely delighted with. But neither foreign Dominions, or foreign Wars, ever prov'd any Advantage to this Nation. The Sea is our Province, and our proper Barrier; and whenever we have attempted to extend our Dominions further, it has been fatal to the Kingdom. We have often been at vast Expences to make foreign

reign Conquests, but were never able to maintain them: And happy for us we were not; for so long as we had any Territories abroad, our Princes either resided there, or squander'd away the Wealth of *England* upon Strangers here. This very Prince resided three Years together in his *French* Dominions: How much to the Satisfaction, or enriching of the *English*, may be easily conjectur'd.

After all, it must be admitted he was no bad Politician: He could hear with temper the Reproaches of his oppressed angry Subjects; and when he found a Point was not to be carried, cou'd wave it, and wait a more favourable Juncture; and thus, by seeming to yield and comply with his Subjects, when he found it was not prudent to oppose them, and waiting proper Opportunities, he gain'd a more absolute Dominion over them than most of his Predecessors.



EDWARD II.

1307.

His Title.



EDWARD II. surnamed *Caernarvon*, the third, but only surviving Son of *Edward I.* by Queen *Eleanor* of *Castile* his first Wife, succeeded his Father, and was crown'd the 25th of *February* 1308. To this Prince's Title no manner of Objection was ever made, unless that weak Pretence of the *Lancastrians* above-mentioned, that *Edmund*, surnamed *Crouchback*, his Uncle, was elder Brother to his Father *Edw. I.* but this has been so generally given up, that it hardly deserves to be remembred.

King

King EDWARD II.

37

King *Edward* II. married *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip* IV. King of *France*, by whom he had Issue His Marriage and Issue.
Edward his eldest Son, who succeeded him in the Throne; and *John*, surnamed *Eltham*, his second Son, who was afterwards created Earl of *Cornwall*. He had also two Daughters, viz. *Joan*, his eldest, married to *David*, the eldest Son of *Robert Bruce*, King of *Scotland*; and *Eleanor*, his second Daughter, married to *Reynold*, Duke of *Gelders*.

In the Character Mr. *Echard* gives us of this Prince, he says, tho' *England* had endur'd great Miseries and Afflictions through the Violence and Ambition of some of her Kings, yet she had been govern'd by Men, and those Troubles were incident to vigorous Dispositions; but under this King, who could neither gain nor keep, the Nation sustain'd all those Calamities that could proceed from the Weaknesses and Levities of a Child. His very Nature was so passive and complying, that he seem'd not only to have been govern'd, but even actuated by his Favourites, who directed and carry'd him as they pleas'd, commanded his Person and Kingdom, and only made use of his Name to colour and countenance their Villanies; for this Prince was not, like some of the former, ruin'd by a violent grasping at unlawful Power, but by meanly subjecting himself to the Power and Guidance of others. And as Pride, Obstinacy, and Ambition, were the Vices that embroil'd some of the former Reigns; so Easiness, Complacency, and Submission, or rather Subjection, were the Ruin of this: Which cannot so much be called Vices in themselves, as they became so, in being unfortunately placed. In short, he was more weak than wicked; and his Exorbitances met with as great or greater in his People. He was too much given to Drink, but remarkable for his Continence; and he left some Remains of his Charity and

and Piety behind him, having founded *Oriel-College* and *St. Mary-Hall* in *Oxford*, and built a Church for Friars at his Manor of *Langley*.

Knights-
Templars
extirpated.

In the beginning of this King's Reign, all the *Knights-Templars* throughout *England* were at once arrested, and committed to Prison. They were a famous Order of Knights, instituted by *Baldwin* King of *Jerusalem*, about two hundred Years before, and first appointed for the Defence of that City, and the safe Conduct of those that travell'd thither. Afterwards they were dispersed through all the Kingdoms of Christendom; and, by the pious Munificence of Princes and others, enrich'd with infinite Possessions, which caus'd them to degenerate from their first Institution, and to become exorbitantly vicious and scandalous: So that all the King's of Christendom at the same time joining together, caus'd them to be apprehended within their Dominions, and to be depriv'd both of their Order and Estates. Being first condemn'd in a general Council held at *Vienne*, their Estates were afterwards given to another Order of Knights, call'd *Hospitallers*.

A Review of
the Reign of
Edward II.

I shall state the several Transactions of this Reign, and from thence endeavour to form a just Character of the King, without regarding, or being influenc'd by the false Reasoning, or unnatural Inferences that are frequently found in our Monkish Writers, and too often copied by our modern Historians.

We are told then, that *Peter* or *Piers Gaveston*, a Native of *Gascogny*, whose Father had done the late King good Service in his Wars against *France*, having been educated with Prince *Edward* (now *Edward II.*) had contracted a mighty Intimacy with him; and the Nobility, jealous of his growing Interest, had prevail'd upon *Edward I.* to banish him. This *Gaveston*, they say, was a beautiful Person, of a quick Wit, and daring Courage, of an open and frank Behaviour,

King EDWARD II.

59

haviour, and scorn'd the Courtier's little Arts of disguising his Sentiments, and fawning upon those he heartily hated; which Qualifications are looked upon as the chief Occasion of his Ruin.

This Man, thus accomplished, it seems King Edward II. pitch'd upon for his prime Minister and Favourite, and recall'd from Banishment; tho' he had sworn not to receive him again without the Leave of his Father.

The Nobility still envying and clamouring at *Garveston*, the King sent him his Lieutenant into *Ireland*, where he suppress'd the Rebel *Irish*, and did the Nation very good Service.

A Tournament being proclaim'd at *Wallingford* *Garveston* came over to it; and he and others of his Countrymen, the *Gasconian* Knights, having the better of the Day, and being too hard for the Duke of *Lancaster* and the *English* Nobility, it so incens'd them, that they immediately resolv'd and contriv'd his Ruin. And thereupon they press'd and compell'd the King to grant a Commission to the Barons, to choose out of themselves twenty four Persons, who should make all Ordinances for the Government of his Household and Kingdom, to place and displace all Magistrates and Officers at their Pleasure, and on whom indeed the whole Regal Power was to be devolved, leaving the King nothing but the Name of Royalty.

In pursuance of this Commission Ordainers were chosen, and forty one Ordinances made; one of which was for removing evil Counsellors; and another particularly for banishing *Garveston*; and by the 40th it was ordain'd, That in every Parliament there should be assign'd one Bishop, two Earls, and two Barons, to determine all Complaints against the King's Ministers. And these Ordinances they made the King confirm the 5th of *October*, in the 5th Year

Year of his Reign; but with this Protestation, that if they contain'd any thing to the King's Damage, they should be amended.

According to these Ordinances *Gaveston* was banish'd; but it being represented to the King by his Friends, that it was contrary to *Magna Charta*, and to his Coronation-Oath, to adjudge or punish any Man without a legal Tryal, the King was pleas'd to recall him.

Whereupon the Earl of *Lancaster*, the Bishops and Barons, under a pretence of relieving Holy Church from Oppression, and to recover the Liberties of the Kingdom invaded by *Gaveston*, broke out into an open Rebellion; and besieging *Scarborough* Castle, where *Gaveston* commanded, he surrendred upon Articles; and among other things it was stipulated, that he should be at Liberty to attend the King, and shou'd receive a fair Trial by his Peers. However, they no sooner had him in their Power, but, contrary to the King's express Commands, and even Entreaties, and contrary to the Capitulation, they cut off his Head without any manner of Trial, and seized his Estate and Effects, and then again press'd the King to obey their Ordinances. And when he charged them with their Rebellions and illegal Actions, these Patriots wip'd their Mouths, and pretended they had never offended.

The *Scots* soon after invading *England*, the King required his Barons, and those that held by military Tenures, to attend him; which the Earl of *Lancaster*, and several of the Barons peremptorily refus'd; and those that did go into the War prov'd as perverse and obstinate in the Field as they had done at Court; of which the *Scots* being sensible, engag'd the King's Army, and obtain'd a signal Victory; but such was the King's Courage, that it is acknowledged, after the Field was lost, it was with great

Difficulty

Difficulty he was persuaded to retreat ; and that he would have re-assembled his Troops again, to have repair'd his Disgrace ; but his obedient Barons positively refus'd to follow him. The Year following the King celebrated his Friend *Gaveston's* Funeral. At the same time the Plague and Famine rag'd mightily in *England* ; whereupon the King commanded no Corn should be converted to Brewers Uses.

To humour his discontented Barons, he at length made the Earl of *Lancaster* President of his Council, and General against the *Scots*. But one *St. Martin* happening to prove a Precontract with the Countess of *Lancaster*, procured her Marriage with the Earl to be annull'd, and she was declared *Martin's* Wife, with whom he recovered the Earldoms of *Lincoln* and *Salisbury*. This is said to have given *Lancaster* fresh Disgust, and is imputed to the King's Management.

The *Scots*, attempting to make a Conquest of *Ireland*, were defeated by the King's Forces.

The Ordaining Lords knowing *Hugh Spencer* to be most unacceptable to the King, our Histories say, the Lords for that Reason constituted him Lord-Chamberlain ; but he by his Address reconciling himself to the King, and gaining his Favour, they were as impatient to remove him. They rais'd Forces, plunder'd his and his Father's Manors, destroyed their Corn and Cattel, murder'd, imprison'd and abus'd their Tenants and Dependants. They compelled the King by Force of Arms to banish both the *Spencers*, and then extorted a Pardon from him for all their Treasons, Murders, and Outrages.

One principal Reason of the Discontent of some of these Lords, and particularly of the Earl of *Hereford*, History tells us, was the King's permitting the younger *Spencer* to purchase an Estate that lay next him,

him, which the Earl of *Hereford*, and some other Lords, had cast their Eyes upon, and which being held *in Capite*, could not be alien'd but by the King's Consent.

The King reflecting on the Force that had been put upon him, and the Injustice of banishing the *Spencers* unheard, recalled them again. And the Barons rising again in Arms, and confederating with the *Scots*, the King march'd against them, and defeated them: The Earl of *Hereford* was kill'd upon the Spot; *Lancaster*, and several other Noblemen, were taken and convicted of Rebellion and Treason, and afterwards executed. Whereupon several Miracles were pretended to be wrought at the Place of *Lancaster's* Execution; he was looked upon as a Saint, and the King revil'd for putting him to Death.

The Bishop of *Winchester* being charg'd with aiding and abetting the rebellious Barons in the King's Courts, the Archbishops and Bishops took him from the Bar, denouncing Excommunications against any one that opposed them; and the King afterwards proceeding to convict him, he was deliver'd to the Custody of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; whereupon he stirr'd up the Queen against the King and the *Spencers*, pretending they would retrench her Allowance, and limit her Expences.

The Parliament *A. D.* 1322, revers'd the Lords Ordinances, and all the Proceedings against the *Spencers*, declaring them illegal and void.

The *French* King demanding Homage of King *Edward* for the Duchy of *Aquitain*, he was about to go over into *France*; but the Queen prevail'd with King *Edward* to let her and her Son go over, in order to settle that Matter with the *French* King her Brother.

In France the Queen and Mortimer, and the rebellious Barons, enter'd into a Conspiracy against the King; and the Queen refus'd to return to England, or permit her Son. King Edward wrote several Letters to his Son, and to the French King, concerning their Return. In one of those to his Son, he says;

Good Son,

TOU know how much I should have lov'd and cherish'd her, [the Queen] and truly, if she had carry'd herself towards Us, as she ought to have done, and as a good Woman, or Wife, towards her Lord: But whereas she feigned an Occasion to withdraw from us (el'e se feigne encheson de se tetiere de nous) by reason of our dear Nephew and faithful Hugh le Despencer, who hath always loyally serv'd us; You see, and all the World may see, that she openly, notoriously, and designedly, against her Duty, and against the Estate of our Crown, which she is bound to favour and maintain, hath drawn to her, and retains in her Company and Council (attrée a Soi & in sa compaignie reteint de son conseil le Mortimer, &c.) Mortimer, our Traytor, and mortal Enemy, prov'd Attaint, and in full Parliament so judg'd, and keeps him company every where, in House and Abroad, in despite of Us and our Crown, and the Laws of the Realm, whom at another time your Uncle banish'd his Kingdom at our Request, as our Enemy. And yet she doth worse, if worse can be, in bringing you into his Company, and making him your Counsellor, and making you adhere and stick to him openly and notoriously in the face of the World, to the greatest Dishonour of Us and you, and in prejudice of our Crown and the Laws, and the Usages of the Laws of England, the which above all things you are bound to preserve and maintain: (as queux vous estes souverainment tenuz faves & maintenir) And therefore he commands and chargeth him upon his Faith, Amity, and Legeance, and his own

Vol. I. F Blessing,

The REIGN of

Blessing; that he come to him with what speed he can, notwithstanding the foresaid Excuses, or any other; his Mother having wrote, that if he would return, she would not hinder him; (car vóstre Meer nous ad escrit que si vous voilez retourner, ele ne vous disturbereit pas) and he could not understand his Uncle should hinder him, against the Tenor of his safe Conduct.

Given at Litchfield, the 18th of March.

King *Edward* wrote also to the King of *France*, and tells him, he had considered his Letters, wherein he signify'd to him, he had seriously discours'd his Sister about the Reason and Things to which he had answer'd; and that she had told him, she desir'd only to be with him, and in his Company, as a good Wife ought to be with her Lord (*& que ele vous ad dit, qele desire tant de estre avec nous, &c.*) and that the seeming Amity between her and his Nephew *Hugh le Despencer* was only feign'd; yet it was convenient to keep it up to gain Time, and avoid worse things. To disprove what she said to her Brother the King of *France*, he reminded him of what great Amity and Kindness she often pretended to *Hugh Despencer* since her being there; and repeats the Intimacy between *Mortimer* and his Wife, and how she was wholly advised and directed by him, and did whatever he advis'd, in the same Words and Manner as in the last Letter to his Son; and then desires him to restore the Duchy of *Aquitain*, &c. to him, without having regard to the wilful Humour of a Woman; and send him his Pleasure by the Bearer.

Given at Litchfield, March 18th on the same Day as before.

My

King EDWARD II.

65

My Author says; he also wrote to the Pope, and sent him a Transcript of what had passed between himself, the King of *France*, his Sister the Queen, and his Son, by way of Narrative, and the Copies of the Letters he wrote them, with his Answers to what was reported of him in *France*; heartily beseeching him to read and consider them, and apply such Remedy for the removing the Matter of Scandal and Dissention, and the Dangers that might proceed from thence, as he should think fit; promising wholly to be directed by his Advice.

Given at Knelworth, the 15th Day of April.

All these Letters, all these Mediators, could not bring her into *England* until her Design was ripe, and that she could come with a Body of Forces; yet, in all Probability, they caus'd her either to quit, or be thrust out of *France*. Tho' some of our Historians, and the *French* Historian *Mezeray* (who understood nothing of this Story, as appears by his Writings) and all from *Froysard*, report, That by the Arts of the *Spencers*, and the Money given to her Brother *Charles*, the Fourth of *France*, and scatter'd in his Court, and to the Pope himself, and distributed in his Court, they became such Friends, that her Brother was prevail'd on to forbid all Persons to assist her, and commanded her to go out of his Dominions.

The *French* King commanding his Sister to depart his Kingdom, she went to the Earl of *Hanault*; married her Son, not then fourteen, to his Daughter; and with her Portion, and the Supplies she receiv'd from the disaffected Barons, she rais'd Forces, and made a Descent upon *England*, taking with her her Son *Edward*, *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, *Roger Mortimer*, and many others that had fled to her. She landed at *Harwich*, *Michaelmas* 1326, and was join'd by most of the Bishops and Barons, making the usual

plausible Pretences for their Rebellion; and the common People were drawn in by Reports that the Pope and the *French* King espoused and supported her Interests; tho' nothing could be more false, both of them taking part with the King against her. However, by this means they occasion'd a general Revolt; and the King, with the younger *Spencer*, and *Baldock* the Lord Chancellor, were obliged to fly into *Wales*. Those few faithful Subjects that adher'd to the King were murder'd, or plundered of all they had. *Hugh Spencer*, the Father, was taken in *Bristol*, and drawn, hang'd, and quarter'd, without Trial, or any Form of Law.

The King, the younger *Spencer*, and the Lord Chancellor being taken, the two last were executed also without Trial; and a Convention being call'd, they adjudged the King unfit to govern, depos'd him, and compell'd him to resign his Crown to his Son; and within half a Year after, the Queen, and her Adulterer *Mortimer*, caus'd the King to be murder'd.

The Barons had depos'd the King, it seems, by their own Authority, not thinking a Resignation necessary: but the Queen over-acting her Part, and a little too movingly bewailing her Husband's Misfortunes, the young Prince took her to be in earnest, and vow'd he would never accept the Crown against his Father's Consent; whereupon they, by Threats, procur'd a Resignation, in as full Terms as it could be drawn; which it seems gave the young Prince Satisfaction.

The good Queen wrote to the Pope to canonize the Earl of *Lancaster*. But, says my Author, that Earl having been guilty of innumerable Adulteries and Murders, a Protector of Felons and Traitors, and taken in actual Rebellion, notwithstanding all the great Miracles pretended to be wrought at the Place
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of his Death, the old Gentleman could not be prevail'd with to enroll him in the Number of his Saints.

It seems his Votaries had the Impudence to aver, that this pretended Saint had restor'd Cripples to their Strength, the Blind to their Sight, and even given Life to a Child that had been dead three Days, that was laid upon his Tombstone; and made it a matter of great Impiety in the King not to suffer divine Honours to be paid him.

In my Observations on this Prince's Character, give me leave to observe, that he was twenty three Years of Age when he came to the Throne; that he had been Generalissimo and Guardian of the Kingdom in his Father's Reign; that no Faults were then found with his Administration, no Defects discover'd; but he is said to come to the Crown with universal Applause.

Reflections
on the Reign
and Character
of King
Edw. II.

Upon his recalling his Friend *Gaveston* from Banishment, and placing him at the Head of Affairs, all his fine Endowments seem to vanish; he is not allow'd to have the least Grain of Religion, Virtue, or common Sense; nay, he was perjur'd in recalling him, as the Lords would have the World believe; and 'tis true, the Prince had sworn that he would not receive or retain *Gaveston* without his Father's Leave. But will not all the World acquit him of the Guilt of Perjury in this Case, since he did not receive him till after his Father's Death?

And surely there is a great deal to be said for King *Edward* II.'s entertaining *Gaveston*: His Father had deserv'd well of the Crown; he was bred up with the Prince from his Infancy; he is said to be a Person of a good Presence, of a quick Wit and noble Courage, and of a frank and open Behaviour; and where shall we find a Friend or a Minister better accomplish'd? And what were the Oppressions?

What were the exorbitant Acts laid to this Minister's Charge? I don't find any Money was attempted to be levied without Consent of Parliament, during this King's Reign, and but very moderate Supplies demanded, if compar'd with other Reigns.

I don't find any Persons depriv'd of Life, Goods, or Estates, but most notorious Rebels and Traitors. Nor do I find the Church oppress'd in any one Instance, unless it be an Oppression to call Clerks to account for Murder and Treason. But the great Offence was the making *Gaveston* prime Minister, who opposed the Encroachments of the Clergy and Barons. They despair'd of bringing the King into an absolute Subjection to their Ordinances, and depriving him of his Sovereign Power, while he had a Minister of that Courage and Penetration about him. Nor did these Reformers and Patriots rest till they broke out into actual Rebellion; and, without any Colour or Forms of Law or Justice, depriv'd *Gaveston* of his Life, and seiz'd his Estate and Effects, even contrary to the Articles of Capitulation themselves had made with him. Those who pretended to take Arms in Defence of their Laws, Liberties, and Religion, that were never invaded, thus express'd their Veneration for Law and Justice, and every thing that's sacred.

The next considerable Event we meet with was the War in *Scotland*; and here all the ill Success is thrown upon the King, when the Barons themselves were the Occasion of it. Some of them refus'd to march at all, and those that did would never be govern'd by the King; and to this Obstinacy we may very naturally impute the Loss of that Battle, there being no Pretence of Want of Courage or Conduct in the King.

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And not only this unfortunate War, but even the plague and Famine that succeeded, are made Matter of Complaint against his Majesty, by Insinuations to the People, as if they were Judgments for his Misgovernment.

And the annulling the Earl of *Lancaster's* Marriage, by reason of a Pre-contract, by due Course of Law, is treasur'd up as another Grievance, and attributed to the King. This, and the King's bestowing some Favours upon *Hugh Spencer*, whom they had impos'd upon him for Lord Chamberlain, was thought Ground sufficient to enter into another Rebellion, and to commit the most notorious Acts of Injustice against the *Spencers*, Father and Son, before they were convicted of any Crimes whatever. And when the King had defeated the Rebels, and brought them to Justice for their Treasons, Murders, and Devastations, what loud Outcries do we find, as if these Men had dy'd Martyrs for their Religion and the Liberties of their Country? Surely one would think, if our Historians ever made use of their Judgment, they could not thus fall in with the common Cry, *Was it thus our Forefathers tugg'd for Liberty?* And is it in those horrid Crimes we are to imitate them? We may as well believe that Miracles were really wrought at *Lancaster's* Tomb, as think such Actions can be defended. What Prince, at this Day, would bear to see his Subjects rival his Power, and take upon them to tyrannize to a degree beyond what any lawful Prince ever attempted?

Rebels, indeed, ever pretended the publick Good; but do we see the Administration mended in their Hands? If the King breaks in upon the Constitution in one Point, they do it in an hundred; and it is Odds if they leave any Constitution at all.

But to return: The Queen, prompted by her own insatiable Lust, and incensed against the *Spencers*,

by some Prelates (who had been prosecuted for adhering to the rebellious Barons) who insinuated to this proud Woman, that the *Spencers* were about to retrench her extravagant Expences; she, I say, and her Adulterer *Mortimer*, invited by Ambition and Lust, enter into a Conspiracy with the Barons; and under the stale Pretence of defending Holy Church, and the Liberties and Properties of the People, impose upon the Populace, and bring over foreign Troops, and drive the King from his Throne. And what is amazing to me, our Historians seem to charge the King as being the principal Occasion of these Distractions, and the Author of all his Misfortunes, when they are plainly to be attributed to the Treachery and Baseness of the Queen and his rebellious Subjects. Even the Pope, and the Queen's own Brother the *French King*, were ashamed of her Cause; and *Mortimer's* Villany was afterwards laid open in full Parliament, where he receiv'd the just Reward of his Actions; and the Queen was shut up in a Monastery by her Son, when he arriv'd at Years of Discretion, and understood by what Arts she had ruin'd his Father. For what Prudence, what Courage can secure a Man, where his Wife and Family are engag'd in a Faction against him?

But to proceed: We see these Patriots, who rebell'd to maintain the Laws, put both the *Spencers* to Death, as they had done *Gaveston*, without any Colour of Law or Justice, and afterwards privately murder'd their Master. Thus was their hopeful Reformation laid in the Blood of their Prince and his most faithful Servants. One would think these *Spencers*, those evil Counsellors, were Monsters of Men, and had incited the King to commit the highest Acts of Tyranny, Cruelty, and Oppression; and yet, as I observ'd before, I don't find any Instances of Persons depriv'd of their Lives, Liberties,

or Possessions, but notorious Rebels and Traitors, taken in the very Act, and who avowedly profess'd a Design of deposing the King, and assuming Sovereign Power to themselves.

And as to the Endowments and Qualifications of the *Spencers*, the younger of them was a Minister of the Barons own chusing, and therefore one would think tolerably qualify'd for his Prince's Favour. And the elder *Spencer*, our Historians inform us, was a *Person of great Integrity, wise in Council, stout in Arms*. And where could a Prince find a Person fitter to be intrusted with the Administration? But admitting his Qualifications had been less, is it Cause sufficient for a Rebellion, that the Prince does not displace every Minister his Subjects direct him?

But what is more to be lamented, is to see the poor People drawn in and made Instruments in promoting the Ambition and Revenge of the Barons. For whatever their Pretences were, it was an Increase of their own Power the Barons aim'd at; the People's Liberties were not at all advanced, or their Properties better secured when they were in the Saddle, than when the Administration was in the King. Nay, 'tis apparent, that the common People never were greater Slaves than when the Barons Power was at the highest; there were Tyrants then in every County and every Neighbourhood, much more insupportable and grievous to the People than the greatest Oppressor that ever sat upon the Throne.

In short, if the People were miserable in this Reign, it is not to be imputed solely to the King, but in a great measure to the Artifices and immoderate Ambition of the Barons, and to a proud lascivious Queen. That the King did not want Courage his Enemies confess; and his Letters to the Queen, to his Son, to the Pope, and to the *French King*,
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are sufficient Evidences of his good Sense. Nor did the Nation suffer by his Indolence or Want of Application to Affairs of State: We find him personally engag'd in the Wars with *Scotland*, we see his Endeavours to relieve his People under the Calamities of Plague and Famine, and his Continenence, History tells us, was very remarkable; and we find as few Instances of Tyranny and Oppression in his Reign, as in most of his Predecessors. To what then are we to attribute the Distractions of these Times? Why, next to the turbulent ambitious Temper of the Barons, and the Lust and Pride of the Queen, we must indeed impute it to the King's Mildness and Condescension, in giving way to the insolent Demands of his Barons; and it has been often observ'd, that the *English* never are so happy as under a strict and steady Administration of the Laws; a yielding, compassionate Disposition ever has prov'd fatal both to Prince and People. Nor is this the Case of the *English* only, but of all Mankind, and of every Society: Let the Governor, Parent or Master, but slacken the Reins of Government, and abate of his just Authority, and 'tis odds but he is depose'd, and becomes a Subject in his turn; and the humouring our Inferiors, and submitting to their Encroachments, is so far from adding to their Happiness, that those Societies are ever the most distract-ed and unhappy, and disturb'd with endless Quarrels among themselves, as well as Murmurs against their Superiors, where the Governor is too mild and condescending: Nor can it be otherwise, when the Order of Nature is inverted, and those who were made to obey are permitted to bear rule.

Factionous Barons and factionous Senators may pretend that Princes are but the People's Officers, and receive their Authority from them; but this is only to wheedle the People into their Designs. For let
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the Upper or the Lower House possess themselves of Sovereign Power, and they will no more submit to be directed by the Multitude than any of their lawful Princes would. And notwithstanding all the rebellious Appeals to the Mob, while they are endeavouring to depose their Sovereign, I don't know any Age or Country where the Mob was ever suffer'd in the Administration: nor indeed is it possible they should; they are so fluctuating and unstable, so easily abus'd and misled by every designing Rascal, that I don't see how any Government can subsist an Hour that is under their Management.

They are of all Men acknowledg'd to be the most unfit to steer; and how they should be able to direct the Steersman, which requires still greater Qualifications, is, I confess, a Mystery to me. Government is, no doubt, the Ordinance of Heaven, not of the People; it is an arduous Affair, and requires the greatest Skill and Address; and consequently was never intended to be lodg'd in the wavering unthinking Mob. Nay, our *Whigs* themselves, when they get into the Saddle, tell them plainly, *State Affairs are not their Province*, and bid them meddle with them at their Peril.

And I believe all Men in Power, of what Principles or Denomination soever, agree that Government never was design'd for the Mob; tho' all that aspire after Power make them believe that 'tis in them alone, and that *the Voice of the People is the Voice of God*. But 'tis time to finish my Reflections on this Reign; and therefore I proceed to that of the Successor.

EDWARD



E D W A R D III.

132⁶/₇.
His Title.



EDWARD III. surnam'd *Windſor*, from the Place of his Birth, was eldeſt Son of *Edward* II. and declar'd King the 25th of *January*, 1327, upon the Reſignation that was extorted from his Father, being then about fourteen Years of Age. But his Mother the Queen, and *Mortimer* her Gallant, uſurp'd the Regal Power, making uſe only of the Name of *Edward* III. to give Satisfaction to the People; and on the firſt of *February* they cauſ'd the young King to be crown'd at *Weſtminſter*. But the People beginning to be ſenſible of *Mortimer's* Treachery, and to pity the Prince they had depoſed, *Mortimer*, after much inhumane and barbarous Uſage, in hopes to break his Heart, cauſ'd the old King to be murder'd on the 22d of *September*, 1327, which gave *Edward* III. an unqueſtionable Title, tho' he did not really enter upon the Exerciſe of the Government till the 18th Year of his Age.

On the 6th of *September*, in the 4th of *Edward* III. the King being made ſenſible of *Mortimer's* Villany, ſummon'd a great Council to meet at *Nottingham*; where being further inform'd of all Paſſages relating to the depoſing and Death of his Father, he cauſ'd *Mortimer* to be ſeiz'd on the 19th of *October*; and he was attain'd in Parliament as a Traitor and Enemy to the Kingdom, and executed on the 29th of *November*. And from henceforward we may look upon *Edward* III. to have really the Poſſeſſion of the

Crown,

Crown, and the Exercise of the Government, as well as the Name of King, which was all he enjoyed during the Usurpation.

Edward III. married *Philippa* the third Daughter of *William* Earl of *Hanault*; by whom he had Issue,

Marriage
and Issue of
Edw. III.

1. *Edward*, afterwards call'd the *Black Prince*; 2. *William*, surnamed *Hatfield*; 3. *Lionel*, surnamed *Antwerp*, afterwards Duke of *Clarence*; 4. *John* of *Gaunt*, afterwards Duke of *Lancaster*; 5. *Edmund* of *Langley*, afterwards Earl of *Cambridge* and Duke of *York*; 6. Another *William*, surnamed *Windsor*, from the Place of his Birth; and 7. *Thomas* of *Woodstock*, afterwards Duke of *Gloucester*. King *Edward* had also five Daughters by his Queen *Philippa*, viz. 1. *Isabel*, married to *Ingelram* Earl of *Bedford*; 2. *Joan*, espoused to *Alphonso* King of *Castile* and *Leon*, but died before the Solemnization of the Marriage; 3. *Blanch*, who died an Infant; 4. *Mary*, married to *John* *Montfort* Duke of *Britain*; and 5. *Margaret*, married to *John* *Hastings* Earl of *Pembroke*.

King *Edward* III. died at his Manor of *Shene*, now *Richmond*, on the 21st of *June*, 1377, in the 65th Year of his Age, and the 51st of his Reign, whose Character *Mr. Echard* gives us in these Words, viz.

His Age and
Death.

He was somewhat tall of Stature, strong and well proportion'd, of such a graceful and noble Aspect, that in his old Age it commanded a general Veneration; and it was reckoned a good Omen to behold his Face, tho' only in a Dream. No Man was more mild and gentle where there was Submission, nor more stern and inexorable where there was Opposition. In common Conversation he was very humble and familiar both to Subjects and Strangers, but with great Gravity and Discretion; and nothing mean and trivial could enter into his Thoughts, but all was great and magnificent. He admirably well knew his Business, and perform'd it; therefore he

His Character.

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was better respected and better serv'd than any of his Predecessors. He was a Father to Orphans and distressed Persons; generous in conferring Favours upon Men of true Merit; modest and humble in Prosperity, and never dejected in Adversity. He shewed many noble Instances of Piety and Charity; and in all his mighty Victories he ever took care to give all the Glory to God; yet his Valour and Bravery was beyond Expression; and if we consider the greatest part of this Reign, nothing can be imagined more glorious and triumphant, his Fame reaching to remote and barbarous Nations, all Foreigners envying the Happiness of his Subjects. Some Failures indeed happen'd in the latter end of his Reign; but it was when he had in a manner outlived himself, as well as the best Wife and best Son in the World. Tho' he was a Prince that highly valu'd his Prerogative, yet none of his Predecessors pass'd more or better Statutes for the Benefit and Liberty of his Subjects, or was more strict in punishing his Judges and Officers for Oppression, Bribery, or Corruption. And as no King had more frequent and greater Taxes from his People, so they were satisfied they were laid out for the Honour and Defence of the Nation; and these were as willingly given, as they were worthily expended, till towards the latter end of his Reign, when he was too much in the Possession of others. In short, *Walsingham* tells us, that God had never rais'd up a King in *England* so valiant, generous, and fortunate as himself. For Monuments of his Charity and Munificence, he founded *Eastminster* Abby near the *Tower of London*, a Nunnery at *Deptford*, *King's-Hall* in *Cambridge*, since part of *Trinity-College*, an Hospital for the Poor at *Calais*, and *St. Stephen's Chapel* at *Westminster*, nobly endowed, and also augmented the Chapel at *Windſor*, with the Provisions for Church-

men and twenty four poor Knights. His other Buildings were great and numerous, as the Castle of *Windsor*, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle of *Queenborough*, the Fortifications at *Calais*, and many other Places. Thus we are arriv'd at the End of this great and mighty King's Reign, which began a new Scene of Miseries and Calamities. We find how he came to the Throne, and how he left it, in both which we have Considerations of great Importance. His mounting over his Father's Head into the Throne, tho' it might not be his Crime, yet he went not without a Punishment, and that in a high degree; for though he left behind him three Sons of extraordinary Figure and Ability, yet he had not one to sit on his Seat, but left it unguarded to a Child of eleven Years of Age, expos'd to the Ambition of Uncles, who over-power'd him, to a factious and discontented Nation at home, and to broken and distracted Inheritances abroad; himself having seen all his great Acquisitions, gain'd with such vast Treasure and Bloodshed, quite torn from him, and nothing remaining but the single Town of *Calais*. The fatal Divisions of his Posterity were so pernicious to the whole Kingdom, as well as to themselves, that if the Dead know any thing of the Actions of the Living, he needed no other Torment than the dismal Vision of those murdered Princes of his Blood, whose Ghosts may be said to have jostled each other whenever they met.

This Prince, as to the Usurpation of his Father's Throne, was purely passive: He was then a Minor, and in the Power of his Mother and *Mortimer*, to whom only the dethroning and murdering of his Father, the Murder of his Uncle *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, and those other Acts of Cruelty and Oppression that were perpetrated in the Beginning of his Reign, are to be ascrib'd; and the rather, because he

A Review
of the Reign
and Character of *Edw.*
III.

he had not attained to 18 Years of Age, before he took full Vengeance on the Wretch who had used his Name to put a Colour upon those treasonable and perfidious Practices.

Nor was that inglorious Peace with *Scotland*, and the Surrender of the *English* Sovereignty to that Kingdom, any manner of Reflection upon this Prince, or to be look'd upon as of any Validity, when he was not *sui juris*, and they were obtain'd by the underhand traiterous Practices of *Mortimer* with the *Scots*. And we find the King, as well as his Subjects, was of this Opinion, by the severe Revenge he took upon that Nation, as soon as he had dispossessed the Usurper *Mortimer* of the Administration. And as the *Scots* had taken Advantage of the King's Minority to throw off their Subjection to the *English*, they were soon brought under the Yoke again; and their King, by the Assent of the States of that Kingdom, did Homage afresh for *Scotland*, before King *Edward* III. had been two Years in actual Exercise of the Government.

The next considerable Enterprize this Prince engag'd in, was to make out a Title to the Crown of *France*, and support it by his Arms, the Justice or Injustice whereof is left to the Reader's Judgment. The Case, in short, was this: *Philip the Fair*, the Father of Queen *Isabel*, Mother to King *Edward* III. had three Sons, viz. *Lewis*, *Philip*, and *Charles*, who were successively Kings of *France*, and died without Male Issue. *Lewis*, the eldest, had a Daughter; but according to the Salique Law, Females being disabled to inherit that Crown, *Philip*, the second Brother, succeeded him in the Throne. And tho' *Philip* had Issue four Daughters, *Charles*, his youngest Brother, succeeded him by virtue of the same Salique Law, and died also without Male Issue. Whereupon *Philip de Valois*, the Nephew of *Philip the Fair*, was
acknow-

acknowledged King by the Peers of *France*, and took Possession of the Throne.

King *Edward* III. insisted, that altho' by the *Sa-lique Law* Females were excluded from inheriting the Crown of *France*, yet the Sons of the Daughters, who had no such Incapacity, were not excluded. And that as he was the Son of *Isabel*, the Daughter of *Philip the Fair*, his Title was to be preferr'd before that of *Philip de Valois*, who was but Nephew to *Philip the Fair*.

But whether *Philip's* or *Edward's* Title was to be preferr'd, this Claim occasion'd infinite Miseries to both Nations; *England* was peel'd and exhausted by Taxes, *France* was waisted and harras'd with Fire and Sword. The *English* at first made mighty Conquests, and acquir'd Glory enough in the Opinion, at least, of our Historians; but it seems before the End of this Reign they lost almost all they had acquir'd, and also large Territories that they were in peaceable Possession of before; and by the Multitude of Taxes, and the carrying their Wealth for so many Years beyond Sea, the *English* were reduc'd to a worse Condition than the Enemy they had vanquished.

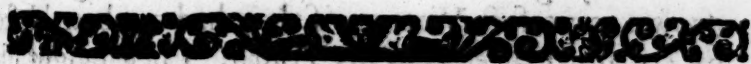
As to King *Edward* himself, if we may credit the Accounts we have of the Battel of *Cressey*, he appears there a Prince of great Courage, Conduct, and Humanity. But then if it be considered how long he was superiour to the *French* by Sea and Land, what large Conquests he made, and how little he retain'd, or rather how much he lost, will not this abate much of that great Opinion we had conceived of him, and cast some Reflection upon his Wisdom, as the terrible Ravages he made in the open Country of *France* does upon his Humanity? For History tells us, he could not be prevail'd on to desist from those barbarous Executions, till great part of his

Army was destroy'd by a Tempest of Thunder and Hail.

Upon this Accident, it seems, he was induc'd to hearken to a Peace, whereby he relinquish'd his Title to *France* and *Normandy*, and retain'd only *Gascony* and *Calais* independent of that Crown, the former of which two he liv'd to see wrested from him. And now upon summing up the Account, let us consider whether the *English* did not pay dear enough for the Glory of two or three Victories at the Beginning of this Reign; and whether there be any thing that can deserve those large Encomiums our Historians bestow upon it. The People, no doubt, had rejoic'd round many a Bonfire, and propos'd great Advantages from their Prince's Victories abroad; but when they had given Supply after Supply, till they were able to give no more, and all their great Hopes were disappointed, we find them quarrelling with the Administration, and presenting their Grievances instead of Aids, while the old King resign'd himself up to his Concubine, who managed all Affairs of State, and insulted and tyranniz'd over his wretched Subjects. And this is the Reign our Historians have adorn'd with so many glorious Epithets, that one would think some God, and not a mortal Man, at that time sat upon the Throne. His Life indeed seems to be compos'd, as most Men's are, of a Mixture of good and bad Fortune, and of good and bad Actions; and it is to be lamented, that as his Fortune, so his Wisdom and his Virtue seem to decline as he advanced in Years, and he went off the Stage with less Honour than he entered.

Yet there are some things that deserve a most grateful Remembrance; as his denying that Tribute to *Rome* which was granted by King *John*, and opposing the other Encroachments of that See; his enacting the Statute of *Provisors*, which in a great measure

measure prevented foreign Clerks running away with the Wealth of the Nation. In this Reign also the Manufacture of Wool was established in the Kingdom, and the transporting unwrought Wool was prohibited; and a Statute was made obliging the Lawyers to plead in *English*. These are great things, and of a much more lasting Benefit to the Nation than his Victories, which shine so much in our *English* History: By the latter he (liv'd himself to see he) had only beggar'd the Nation; but the other are lasting Improvements, from whence we at this Distance of time reap many Advantages.



RICHARD II.



RICHARD II. the only surviving Son of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, deceas'd, commonly call'd the *Black Prince*, succeeded his Grandfather *Edward* III. being then about eleven Years of Age, and was crown'd at *Westminster* on the 16th of *July*, 1377, the Administration of the Government, during his Minority, was committed to his two Uncles, *John* of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Edmund* Earl of *Kent*, and several Bishops; and the Lord *Guiscard d'Angolessme* had the Tuition of the young King's Person. In the Year 1382 King *Richard* married the Lady *Anne*, Daughter of the Emperor *Charles* IV. and Sister of *Wenceslaus* Emperor and King of *Bohemia*, who died without Issue.

1377.

And in the Year 1396 he was married to the Lady *Isabel*, eldest Daughter of *Charles* King of *France*, then about seven Years of Age; but this Marriage was never consummated, so that King *Richard* left no Issue.

He is deposed and murdered.

His Character.

He was deposed by the Duke of *Lancaster*, afterwards King *Henry* IV. about *Michaelmas* 1399, and murder'd the 14th of *February* following.

Our Author tells us, this Prince, as to his Person, was the most amiable and handsome that ever reign'd since the Conquest, agreeable to the Son of so beautiful a Father and Mother; and he might have prov'd an excellent Prince, had his Education been answerable to his natural Disposition; for there appear'd in him many good Inclinations, which might have grown to perfect Virtues, if they had not been blasted by corrupt Flatterers in his Youth. These taught him Luxury, Viciousness, and the Desire of Power; so that in a short time, by his being still govern'd by them, he lost all the Esteem and Affection the Nation had once for him; and this occasioned great Hardships, and very unjustifiable Usage from his Subjects to him, besides the Ruin of his most beloved Friends. He acted as one of a revengeful Spirit, and was guilty of many Breaches of Faith; for which he more than once received his Punishment from the Hands of those who had not the most Right to inflict it. As to his Temper, he was rather profuse than liberal in his Gifts and Expences, keeping greater State and Hospitality than any of his Predecessors; and tho' we find no publick Act of Charity done by him, yet his rebuilding of *Westminster-Hall* in that noble manner it now stands, sufficiently shews that he loved to appear great and magnificent in whatsoever he undertook. But his Grandeur was one great step to his Ruin. His Reign in general, in several respects, resembled that of King *Edward* II. his

Great

Great Grandfather; for both adher'd to the Advices of Favourites, and both equally neglected the Councils of the ancient Nobility; but with this Difference, that *Edward* was passionately fond of the Person of his Favourite, and would endanger his Crown to preserve him; whereas *Richard* so little regarded the Person of his, that he would not hazard his Throne in his Defence. *Edward* seem'd of a more easy and flexible Temper, being always govern'd by them he lov'd; but *Richard*, of a more dissolute and willful Inclination, ever loving those whom he could best rule; so that such only were his Favourites as would be subservient to his Will. The former was ruin'd more by the Faults of others, and the latter more by those of his own; so that *Edward's* Case was more pitiable, and *Richard's* more blameable. *Richard* assum'd a more absolute Power than *Edward*, or indeed any of his Predecessors, and more than that, obtain'd it; and his Fall did not only shew a great and wonderful Revolution, but also most signally manifested, that the most absolute Princes are ever most liable to be ruin'd, especially in those Kingdoms where there is, or rather ought to be, any Concurrence in the Legislature.

This King had the Misfortune of coming very young to the Crown, and falling into the Hands of his ambitious Uncles, whom our Historians inform us designedly neglected his Education, to render him unacceptable to the People; and this cou'd be with no other View than to supplant and usurp his Throne: And accordingly we find them afterwards in Rebellion against him. And tho' they did not any of them succeed themselves, the Duke of *Lancaster* shew'd his Son the Way to insult his Prince, and laid the Foundation of that Usurpation that follow'd.

A Review of
the Reign of
Richard II.

But before the Rebellion of the Barons, we meet with the Insurrection of *Wat Tyler* and *Jack Cade*, occasion'd by the levying of a Poll-Tax. And here it must be allowed, the young King shew'd such Courage and Conduct, as are seldom found in Princes of his Age, not being then above fourteen. It seems he treated with the several Captains of the Rebels at the Head of their respective numerous Bodies; one of which, by fair Words, he persuaded to disperse: And *Wat Tyler*, who was more insolent and daring than his Companion, he commanded to be arrested and slain at the Head of his Mob: And when the Rabble cry'd out to revenge his Death, with an inimitable Presence of Mind the King briskly rode up to them, and bid them not be concerned for the Death of a Traitor, but follow him, and he wou'd be their Leader; and this resolute Behaviour had such an effect upon them, that they were prevail'd upon to disperse and go home. This is a Fact, I think, admitted by all our Historians, and gives us such an Idea of this Prince, as is very inconsistent with what they relate of him afterwards.

The Barons, it seems, took upon them to resent his Majesty's displacing a Chancellor, who had been approv'd in Parliament; they reprov'd him also for living in too much Grandeur; and sometimes they charg'd him with oppressing the Monasteries, by making them too frequent Visits. Upon these slight Pretences they compell'd him to appoint such a number of Lords to examine the Conduct of his Ministers, and to place and displace them at Pleasure, as had been practis'd in some former Reigns; and by this means made the King but a mere Cypher: And because the King refus'd to be govern'd by them, and submit to all their Encroachments on the Prerogative, they broke out into open Rebellion, and they drew over the King's Uncle the Duke of

Gloucester

Gloucester to their Party, with his Cousin the Earl of *Derby*, who afterwards usurp'd his Throne. The Duke of *Lancaster* his Father, who was no doubt at the bottom of all, was beyond Sea at that time.

The Rebels, to the number of 40000, advanc'd as far as *Highbate*; and when the King sent to demand what they wou'd have, the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Derby*, and some of the Chiefs, attended the King at *Westminster*, and demanded nothing less than the dismissing all his principal Ministers and Judges. The King was not so terrified by their Numbers, but he sharply reprehended them for levying War against their Sovereign; but the Earl of *Derby* afterwards defeating the King's Forces under the Command of the Duke of *Ireland*, they in plain Terms threaten'd the King to depose him, and elect another, if he did not comply with their Demands. They also compell'd him to call a Parliament, having now a Force sufficient to influence the Elections according to their own Hearts Desire.

In this Parliament they procur'd the King's Ministers, the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbishop of *York*, the Earl of *Suffolk*, Chief Justice *Tressilian*, and others, whom they were pleased to denominate evil Counsellors, to be attainted of High Treason; and several of them were executed.

The following Year the King in a great measure resum'd his Authority again, declared himself of Age, and that he wou'd no longer be under the Tuition of the Barons, but place and displace his Servants and Officers as he saw fit. Still he seem'd to be apprehensive of his Uncle the Duke of *Lancaster's* Power and Influence; whereupon he made him Duke of *Gascony*, and the Duke went over to take Possession of that Duchy; and the Earl of *Derby*, the Darling of our Historians, went beyond

Sea, as they say, to improve himself in the Art of War, or rather for fear of being call'd to account for his former Rebellion.

The City of *London* had been so prejudic'd against his Majesty by the popular Barons, that they refus'd to lend him a thousand Pounds, and almost knock'd a private Citizen on the Head for offering to lend the King that Sum. For this and another Riot their Privileges were seiz'd, and they were forc'd to buy their Peace with 15000*l*. However, this confirm'd them in their Inveteracy against the King, and made way for his Misfortunes.

And indeed, during the King's Minority, which was about ten Years, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester*, the Earl of *Derby*, and the other Barons, his Enemies, having the principal Administration and Direction of Affairs ——— had an Opportunity of poisoning the People in their Principles, and rendering the King odious to them. And after the King came of Age, he was under a Necessity of complimenting several of them with the highest Employments, to keep them quiet: Accordingly we find him, in the Year 1394, making the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester* his Plenipotentiaries, to treat of Peace with *Franco*; and great Sums are rais'd for them by Parliament, that they might appear with the greater Splendor.

These things considered, we shall not be at a loss to discover how the Affections of the People came to be alienated from the King. He might be a very good Man, and a very desirable Prince, and yet be undermin'd or over-power'd by his treacherous Relations; and I believe a very little Reflection will serve to shew that they were not always the worst Princes that were deposed and murdered. There were some of them, I'm sure, whose Virtues and Qualifications have not been inferior to those who

who have had better Fortune; but sordid Pens will be ever flattering the successful, and depressing the unfortunate. The Duke of *Lancaster* can never want an Advocate, who was so lucky to usurp a Throne. Treachery, Rebellion, and even the Murder of a King will be palliated, if perpetrated by him. He, good Man! wou'd never have lifted up his Hand against his Sovereign, or have accepted of his Crown, had it not been to save a sinking Nation from impending Ruin.

But to return: The King looking upon himself to be pretty well settled in his Throne, caus'd his Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester* to be arrested for his many Treasons and Conspiracies against him, and sent Prisoner to *Calais*, designing to bring him to his Trial in the following Parliament; but the Duke died in Prison of an Apoplexy. However, the King's Enemies will have it he was smother'd with Pillows, by Orders from Court, there being no Signs of a violent Death upon him: But I can't see any reason for such a Proceeding, the Duke having confess'd his Treasons under his Hand; upon which Confession he was afterwards attainted in Parliament.

However, this pretended Murther of the Duke of *Gloucester* was made great use of to inflame the People, and stir them up against the King. The Parliament attainted also the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and the Lord *Cobham*, of High Treason; of whom only *Arundel* was executed. These had all been in Rebellion against the King, and were, for no other reason, in those wretched times, look'd upon as Patriots, by the deluded People; and their Condemnation look'd upon as another Act of Tyranny in the King.

In this Parliament all the Encroachments upon the Prerogative in the Unmerciful Parliament, as
'twas

'twas call'd, that destroy'd the King's Ministers; were repeal'd, and those Acts declar'd to be traitorously obtain'd.

This Parliament delegated their Authority to a Committee of twelve Lords, and six Commoners; in whom, with the King, the Legislative Power was lodg'd for a time. And the better to enforce the Acts of this present Parliament, a Bull was obtain'd, solemnly cursing all those who did not obey its Acts.

The King having made the Earl of *Derby* Duke of *Hereford*, there happen'd some seditious Discourse between him and the Duke of *Norfolk*; and one of them discovered it to the King; whereupon there ensued a Challenge; but the King thought fit to banish them both, and was not much concern'd at the Absence of his Cousin *Hereford*, whose Ambition and Popularity he had reason to be apprehensive of. Upon the Death of the Duke of *Lancaster*, *Hereford's* Banishment was made perpetual, and the King seiz'd his vast Estate that descended to him from the Duke of *Lancaster* his Father, which gave him a Pretence of returning to *England* to recover his Father's Inheritance: But it seems his Ambition did not terminate there; for taking Advantage of King *Richard's* Absence in *Ireland*, he procur'd a general Revolt of his Subjects, took the King Prisoner at his Return to *England*, depos'd him, and stept into his Throne, and afterwards depriv'd him of his Life. Which Proceeding I shall a little enlarge upon, since it has by some been look'd upon as a laudable Precedent.

Walsingham tells us, that the Duke of *Lancaster* taking Advantage of King *Richard's* Absence, thinks of coming for *England* to demand his Inheritance, with *Thomas Arundel*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Son and Heir of the Earl of *Arundel*, and a
small

small Company. He took Ship in *France*, and hovering a while about the *English* Coast, to spy whether there were any ready to resist them, at length landed at *Ravenpur* in *Yorkshire*, where there came in to him *Henry Percy*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Henry* his Son; *Ralph*, Earl of *Westmorland*, and other Lords; so that in a short time he had an Army of 60000 Men. They marched speedily to *Bristol*, and besieged the Castle, and took it, and within it *William Lescrop*, Treasurer, *Sir John Buffy*, and *Sir Henry Green*, all the King's Counsellors, who the next Day, by the Clamour of the People, had their Heads struck off. The Duke of *York*, the King's Uncle, and Guardian of the Kingdom, with several Bishops, Noblemen, and the King's Council, consulted how they might oppose the Duke, but could do nothing.

King *Richard*, when he heard in *Ireland* of his Landing, secured the Sons of the Duke of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester* in *Trim-Castle*, and with the Dukes of *Albemarle*, *Excester* and *Surrey*; the Bishops of *London*, *Lincoln* and *Carlisle*, and many others, shipped themselves with all Speed, that they might raise such a Force as might hinder the Duke's Progress. But when he landed, understanding his own Condition, that the People and greater Part of the Lords had forsaken him, and gone in to Duke *Henry*, he laid by all Thoughts of fighting, and likewise dismissed his Family, giving them notice, by his Steward *Sir Thomas Percy*, that they might provide for, and reserve themselves for better Times. The King, shifting up and down here and there for many Days, the Duke always following him with his Army, at length fix'd at *Conway Castle*, and desired to have Discourse with the Archbishop and Earl of *Northumberland*, to whom he declared he would quit his Government, if he might have his Life secured, and
an

an honourable Provision made for himself, and eight Persons he should name. These Things granted and confirmed, he went to *Flin Castle*, where, after a short Discourse with the Duke of *Launcester*, they mounted their Horses, and went to *Chester Castle* that Night, the Duke's numerous Army following him.

At *Chester* Summons's were issued in King *Richard's* Name for the meeting of a Parliament on the Morrow of *St. Michael*, or 30th of *September*, dated there on the 19th of *August*, in the 23d of his Reign. In the mean time the King was brought to and secured in the *Tower of London*, until the Parliament should sit, when they proceeded to depose him, as appears by the following Parliament Roll.

The Roll of Parliament summoned and holden at Westminster in the Feast of St. Faith the Virgin (or 6th of October) in the Year of King HENRY IV. after the Conquest the first. Membrane 20.

The Record and Process of the Renunciation of King Richard II. after the Conquest, and the Acceptation of the same Renunciation likewise, with the Deposition of the same King Richard, as it here follows.

The Manner
of deposing
Richard II.

“ **B**E it remember'd, *First*, That on *Monday*, in
“ the Feast of *St. Michael* the Archangel, in
“ the twenty third Year of the Reign of King
“ *Richard*, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and
“ other notable Persons, that is to say, the Lord
“ *Richard*

King RICHARD II.

91

“ *Richard le Scrop*, Archbishop of York, *John* Bishop
 “ of Hereford, *Henry* Earl of Northumberland, and
 “ *Ralph* Earl of Westmorland, the Lord *Hugh* Burnell,
 “ *Thomas* Lord Berkeley, the Prior of Canterbury, and
 “ Abbot of Westminster, *William* Thyrninge, Kt. and
 “ *John* Markham, Justices; *Thomas* Srow, and *John*
 “ *Burbache*, Doctors of Law; *Thomas* de Erpingham,
 “ and *Thomas* Grey, Knights; *William* de Percy, and
 “ *Dionyse* Lapham, publick Notaries, being deputed
 “ to that purpose, came into the Presence of King
 “ *Richard*, within the Tower of London, about nine
 “ of the Clock, when the Earl of Northumberland
 “ said before the King, that at Conway in North-Wales,
 “ and then at Liberty, he promised to *Thomas*
 “ Archbishop of Canterbury, and himself, that he
 “ would quit the Crown of England and France, and
 “ renounce all Right to it, and to Kingship, for
 “ the Causes there by himself confessed of his In-
 “ ability and Insufficiency; and this he would do
 “ after the best Manner and Form he should be
 “ advised by the Skilful in the Law. The same
 “ King, before the said Lords and others above-
 “ named, kindly answered, That he would with
 “ Effect perform what he had promised; but first
 “ desired to have Conference with his Cousin *Henry*
 “ Duke of Lancaster, and the Archbishop of Can-
 “ terbury, before he did it; and desired a Copy of
 “ the Renunciation he was to make might be de-
 “ livered to him, to deliberate upon; which was
 “ done, and the Lords departed. On the same
 “ Day, after Dinner, the King much desiring the
 “ coming of the Duke of Lancaster, and long ex-
 “ pecting him, at length he and the Archbishop of
 “ Canterbury, with the Lords and Persons above-
 “ named, came to his Presence in the Tower, the
 “ Lords *Roos* of Willoughby and *Abergavenny*, and
 “ many others, then being present; and after he
 “ had

“ had Conference with the Duke of *Lancaster*, and
 “ Archbishop, looking about him with a cheerful
 “ Countenance, as it seemed to the People about
 “ him, the King called them all to him, and said
 “ publicly he was ready to make his Renunciation,
 “ as he had said before; and presently taking the
 “ Parchment Schedule of his Renunciation into his
 “ Hands, tho’ it was told him, to spare the Labour
 “ and Trouble of reading it, he might have it done
 “ by another, he said he would read it himself,
 “ which he did distinctly, and absolved his Lieges,
 “ renounced, quitted, and swore, read and said o-
 “ ther things, and subscribed his Name with his
 “ own Hand, as ’tis more fully contained in the
 “ *Latin* Record; the Tenor of which follows.

The Resignation of Richard II.

IN the Name of God, *Amen*, “ I *Richard*, by
 “ the Grace of God King of *England* and
 “ *France*, and Lord of *Ireland*, do absolve the
 “ Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates whatso-
 “ ever of Churches Secular or Regular, of what
 “ Dignity, Degree, State or Condition they are;
 “ Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Barons, Vassals, Val-
 “ vassores, and my Liege Men whatsoever, Ecclesi-
 “ astick or Secular, by whatever Name they are
 “ called, from the Oath of Fealty and Homage,
 “ and all others to me made, and from all Bond
 “ of Legeance, Regality, and Government, or
 “ Command, by which they have been, or may be
 “ bound to me; and Them, their Heirs, and Suc-
 “ cessors for ever, from the same Obligations,
 “ Oaths, and other things whatsoever, I free, re-
 “ lease, and quit, and make them free, absolved
 “ and quit, as to my Person, according to the
 “ whole Effect of the Law, which may follow from
 “ the

“ the Premisses, or any of them. And I do purely, freely, of my own accord, simply and absolutely, in the best Manner, Way and Form, that I can, by this Writing renounce wholly, resign, and by Word and Deed put from me and recede for ever from all Royal Dignity and Majesty, the Crown and Lordship, and the Power of the said Kingdoms and Lordship, and other my Dominions and Possessions, which may any way belong to me, and to all Right, Colour of Right and Title, Possession and Dominion, that I ever had, have, or may have, in the same or any of them; also the Government and Administration of the said Kingdoms and Lordships, and all mere and mixt Empire in the same; and to all Honour and Royalty therein, saving to my Successors, Kings of *England*, in the Kingdoms, Dominions and Premises for ever, their competent Rights. And I do confess, acknowledge, repute, and truly of certain Knowledge judge myself to be insufficient for the Government of the said Kingdoms and Dominions, and for my notorious Demerits not unworthily deposed. And I swear by these Holy Gospels of God, by me corporally touched, that I never will contravene this Resignation, Renunciation, Dismission and Cession, or will any way oppose them in Word or Deed, by my self or others, nor will suffer them to be opposed or contravened, as much as in me is, publicly or privately; but the same Renunciation, Resignation, Dismission and Cession, will for ever hold firm, and will firmly hold and observe them in the whole and every Part, as God and his Gospels help me.

Ego Richardus Rex antedictus propria manu hic me subscribo.

I King Richard before said write my self with my own Hand.

“ And

" And presently he added to his Renunciation
 " and Cession, That if it was in his Power, the
 " Duke of *Lancaster* should succeed him; but seeing
 " it was not, he desired the Archbishop of *York*, and
 " Bishop of *Hartford*, who he had appointed to de-
 " clare his Renunciation and Cession to the States
 " of the Kingdom, to intimate his Will and Plea-
 " sure to them; and as a further Mark of his In-
 " tention, he pulled his Signet Gold Ring off his
 " own Finger, and put it upon the Duke's, desiring
 " it might be made known to all the States of the
 " Kingdom.

" On the Morrow, being *Tuesday*, the Feast of
 " *St. Hieron*, the Parliament met in *Westminster-Hall*,
 " where the Archbishop of *York* and Bishop of *Hart-*
 " *ford* publicly declared the King's Cession and
 " Renunciation, with the Subscription of the King's
 " Hand; and also the Delivery of the Signet to the
 " Duke of *Lancaster*. The Cession and Renuncia-
 " tion was first read in *Latin*, then in *English*; and
 " the States and People there present were asked,
 " if for their own Interest and the Profit of the Na-
 " tion they would admit the Cession and Renuncia-
 " tion. They unanimously answered, They would
 " admit it.

" After which Admission, it was publicly pro-
 " posed, That besides that it would be much expe-
 " dient and advantageous to the Nation, and to
 " take away all Scruples and sinister Suspicions,
 " that many Crimes and Defects committed by the
 " said King during the time of his Government,
 " for which, as confessed in his Cession, he might
 " be worthily deposed, might be drawn up in
 " Writing, and publicly read and declared to the
 " People.

These

These Articles of Male Administration were thirty three in Number; but as to their Purport it is not very material; for as no Acts of the Prince can justify Rebellion and Usurpation, so neither will Subjects ever want Pretences when they are determined to shake off their Allegiance.

After a Recital of the Articles, the Parliament Roll goes on and says :

“ Because it seemed to all the States of the Kingdom, it being singly and in common propounded to and asked of them, that these Causes of Crimes and Defects were sufficient and notorious to depose the same King, his Confession also, and other things considered, contained in his Renunciation and Cession; all the States aforesaid unanimously consented to proceed to the Deposition of him, *for the greater Security and Tranquility of the People, and Profit of the Kingdom*; and accordingly appointed certain Commissioners, the Bishop of *St. Asaph*, the Abbat of *Glastonbury*, the Earl of *Gloucester*, the Lord *Berkeley*, *Thomas Erpyngham*, and *Thomas Grey*, Knights; and *William Thyrnyng*, Justice, to pronounce Sentence of Deposition against King *Richard*, from all Royal Dignity, Majesty and Honour, in the Name, and by Authority of all the States, as in like Cases, according to the ancient Custom of the Kingdom, had been observed. The Commissioners take upon them their Charge; and the Commission being drawn up in Writing, the Bishop of *Asaph* read it in these Words :

“ In the Name of God, *Amen*. We *John* Bishop of *Asaph*, *John* Abbat of *Glastonbury*, *Thomas* Earl of *Gloucester*, *Thomas* Lord *Berkely*, *Thomas de Erpyngham*, and *Thomas Grey*, Knights, and
Vol. I. H “ *William*

“ *William Thyrnyng*, Justiciary, by the Spiritual and
 “ Temporal Peers, and great Men of the Kingdom
 “ of *England*, and by the Communities of the same,
 “ representing all States thereof, being specially de-
 “ puted Commissioners for the things under-writ-
 “ ten, duly considering the many Perjuries, Cruel-
 “ ty, and many other Crimes committed by King
 “ *Richard* in the time of his Government, and
 “ publicly exhibited and recited before the States,
 “ which were so publick, notorious, manifest and
 “ famous, as they could no way be denied; and
 “ also his Confession, acknowledging, and truly
 “ of his own certain Knowledge judging himself
 “ to have been altogether insufficient for the Go-
 “ vernment of the Kingdoms and Lordship afore-
 “ said; and that for his notorious Demerits he
 “ was worthy to be deposed; which things, by
 “ his own Will and Command, were published
 “ before the States: Having had diligent Delibera-
 “ tion upon these things, for the greater Caution
 “ to the Government of the Kingdoms and Domi-
 “ nion aforesaid, the Rights and Appurtenances of
 “ the same, in the Name and Authority to us com-
 “ mitted, do pronounce, decree, and declare that
 “ very *Richard* to be deposed deservedly, from all
 “ Royal Dignity and Honour; and for the like
 “ Caution we depose him by our definitive Sen-
 “ tence in this Writing, expressly inhibiting all
 “ and singular Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates,
 “ Dukes, Marqueffes, Earls, Barons, Knights, Vas-
 “ sals and Valvassors, and all other Men and Sub-
 “ jects of the said Kingdoms and Dominion, or
 “ Places belonging to them, for the future to obey
 “ the said *Richard* as King.

“ Furthermore, the said States desiring there
 “ might be nothing wanting which was, or might
 “ be

“ be required in this Matter, being severally asked,
 “ agreed to certain Persons to be their Proctors, or
 “ Agents, named by the Commissioners, to go to
 “ King *Richard* to resign their Homage and Fealty
 “ had been made to him, and give him notice what
 “ had been concerning his Deposition and Renun-
 “ ciation.

“ And presently it appeared from the Premisses;
 “ and the Occasion thereof, that the Kingdom of
 “ *England* was *vacant*, when *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*
 “ rising from his Seat, and standing so right up as
 “ he might sufficiently be seen of the People, hum-
 “ bly crossing himself in his Forehead and Breast,
 “ first calling upon the Name of Christ, challenged
 “ the Kingdom of *England*, being void, with the
 “ Crown, and all its Members and Appurtenances,
 “ in his Mother Tongue (*Lingua materna*) in this
 “ Form of Words.

“ In the Name of Fader, Son, and Holy Ghost.
 “ I *Henry* of *Lancaster* chalenge this Reaume of
 “ *England*, and the Croune, with all the Membres
 “ and the Appurtenances, as I am descendit by
 “ ryght lyne of the Blode coming fro the gude Lord
 “ King *Henry* therde, and throghe that ryght that
 “ God of his Grace hath sent me, with helpe of my
 “ Kyn and my Frendes to recover it. The which
 “ Reaume was in poynt to be ondone for de-
 “ fault of Governance, and undoying of the gude
 “ Lawes.

“ After this Claim, as well the Lords Spiritual
 “ as Temporal, and all States there present, were
 “ asked one by one what they thought of it, who,
 “ without any Difficulty or Delay, unanimously
 “ consented the Duke should reign over them: And
 “ immediately, so soon as he shew'd the States of the
 “ Kingdom

“ Kingdom King *Richard's* Signet, which he gave
 “ him as a Token of his Intention, as was said
 “ before, the Archbishop taking King *Henry* by the
 “ Right Hand, led him to the Royal Throne; and
 “ when the same King had kneeled and prayed a
 “ while before it, the Archbishop of *Canterbury*,
 “ the Archbishop of *York* assisting him, placed him
 “ therein, the People for great Joy shouting migh-
 “ tily.

“ When the shouting was over, the Archbishop
 “ of *Canterbury* made a short Preachment or Colla-
 “ tion, as 'tis called, upon the Roll; his Text or
 “ Theme was, *Vir dominabitur populo.* 1 Sam. Chap. 9.
 “ *Vers.* 17. The *English* Version of the whole Verse,
 “ according to the vulgar Edition, runs thus: *And*
 “ *when Samuel saw Saul, the Lord said unto him, Be-*
 “ *hold the Man whom I spake to thee of; this same*
 “ *shall rule over my People; Iste dominabitur populo*
 “ *meo.* In this Collation he makes a Comparison
 “ between King *Richard*, whom he makes a Child,
 “ and his whole Government a childish Acting,
 “ and King *Henry*, a perfect wise Man. In this
 “ Comparison he makes use of several Places of
 “ Scripture; but how properly, or how to the pur-
 “ pose, belongs not to this Place. At length he
 “ insinuates, that by childish Government the Na-
 “ tion had been in great Danger; but now they
 “ were freed from it, because a Man will reign, to
 “ wit, he that says not as a Child, but one of
 “ perfect Reason: I came not to do my own Will,
 “ but the Will of him that sent me, that is God:
 “ And therefore we may not only say of this Man,
 “ that he will think of things in Wisdom, but
 “ also as a Man, and not as a Child; (*in sensu co-*
 “ *gitabit circumspectionem Dei;*) he will in earnest
 “ think of the Circumspection or Providence of
 “ God; (*id est, circumquaque diligenter aspiciet ut*
 “ *Dei*

“ *Dei voluntas, non sua, fiat* ;) i. e. he will look diligently every way about him, that God’s Will, not his own, may be done; and so in the Place of a wanton Child, a Man rules over the People, and such a Man, that it may be said the King shall reign, and he shall be a wise Man, and do Judgment and Justice in the Land.

“ Which Collation ended, King *Henry*, to quiet the Minds of his Subjects, said publickly these Words :

S I R E S,

“ I Thank God, and zowe Spirituel and Temporel, and all the Astates of the Lond, and do zowe, to wyte, it es nought my Will that no Man thynk, that be waye of Conquest I wold disherit any Man of his Heritage, Franches, or other Ryghts, that hym aght to have, no put hym out of that that he has, and has had by the gude Lawes and Custumes of the Rewme, except those Persons that has been agan the gude purpose, and the comune Profyt of the Rewme.

And forthwith it being considered, that the Throne being vacant by the Cessation and Deposition of King *Richard*, the Power of all the Justices, Sheriffs and other Officers thro’ the Kingdom ceased, lest Justice might be delayed, to the Grievance of the People, he named his principal Officers and Justices, who took the usual Oaths: And forthwith Proclamation was made by the King’s Command, That on *Monday* next, after the Feast of St. *Michael*, a Parliament should be held in that Place; and that on *Monday* next following, on the Feast of St. *Edward*, the Coronation should be at *Westminster*; and that who claimed any Service, then might put in their Petitions before the Steward, Constable, and Marshal of *England*, where they should receive full

H 3

Justice.

Justice. And for the Shortness of time assigned for the sitting of the Parliament, the King made Protestation, it was not his Intention it should be any Prejudice to the States of his Kingdom, or that it should be made an Example for the future; but that it was only for the Profit of the Kingdom, and especially to spare the Labour and Expences of his Lieges; and that the Grievances of the People might have speedy Remedy.

All which things being finished, the King rose from his Throne, and beholding the People with a cheerful Countenance, departed; and the same Day in the *White-hall* (in *Alba Aula*) he had a great Entertainment for the Nobles and Gentlemen, who were there in great Numbers.

These things were done on *Tuesday* the 30th of *September*. And afterwards on the next Day, being *Wednesday*, the Deputies or Proctors before-mention'd went to *Richard*, late King, in the *Tower*, as they had been enjoined. *William Thyrnyng* Justiciary for himself, and Fellow Proctors in the Name of all the States and People, notified to *Richard*, and fully declared the Admission of his Renunciation, and the Manner, Cause and Form of the Sentence of his Deposition; and presently resign'd the Homage and Fealty that had been made to the late King *Richard*.

Debates as to the Lawfulness of deposing Kings.

On *Thursday* the 23d of *October* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, on Behalf of the King, charged all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and all others there being, upon their Allegiance, that what should be then spoken or propounded should be kept secret,

cret, and no ways discover'd to any Man living. And then it was demanded by the Earl of *Northumberland*, for the Security of the King and all the Estates of the Kingdom, what should be done with King *Richard*, to keep him in Safeguard, saving his Life, which the King would have done by all means? To which Question all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whose Names do there follow, being severally examined, answered, it seem'd to them he should be put into safe and secure Guard, and in such a Place where there was no Concourse of People, and that he be kept by sure and sufficient Persons, and that none that had been Servant to him should be about his Person; and this should be done in the most secret manner that might be.

Upon propounding this Question, *Thomas Merke*, Bishop of *Carlisle*, gave his Reasons against these Proceedings, in the following Speech, as it is to be found in the first Part of Sir *John Hayward's* Life of *Henry IV.* printed at *London*, 1599.

*Bishop Merke's Argument against the
deposing King RICHARD II.*

THIS Question, Right Honourable Lords, concerneth a Matter of great Consequence and Weight; the determining whereof will assuredly procure either safe Quiet, or dangerous Disturbance, both to our particular Consciences, and also to the common State. Therefore before you resolve upon it, I pray you call to your Considerations these two Things: *First*, Whether King *Richard* be sufficiently deposed or no. *Secondly*, Whether King *Henry* be with good Judgment or Justice chosen in his Place. For the first Point we are to examine, Whether a King, being lawfully and fully instituted

instituted by any just Title, may, upon Imputation either of Negligence or of Tyranny, be deposed by his Subjects. *Secondly*, What King *Richard* hath omitted in the one, or committed in the other, for which he should deserve so heavy Judgment. I will not speak what may be done in a popular State, or in a Consular, in which although one beareth the Name and Honour of a Prince, yet he hath not Supream Power of Majesty; but in the one the People have the highest Empire, in the other the Nobility and chief Men of Estate, in neither the Prince. Of the first sort was the Commonwealth of the *Lacedemonians*, who, after the Form of Government which *Lycurgus* framed, oftentimes fined, oftentimes fettered their Kings, and sometimes condemned them to Death: Such were also in *Cesar's* time the petty Kings of every City in *France*, who were many times arraigned upon Life and Death, and (as *Ambiorix* Prince of *Leodienses* confesseth) had no greater Power over the People, than the People had over them. Of the second Condition were the *Roman* Emperors at the first, of whom some, namely *Nero* and *Maximinus*, were openly condemned; others were suddenly surpris'd by Judgment and Authority of the Senate. And such are now the Emperors of *Germany*, whom the other Princes, by their Aristocratical Power, do not only restrain, but sometimes also remove from their Imperial State: Such are also the Kings of *Denmark* and *Swedeland*, who are many times by the Nobility dejected either into Prison or into Exile: Such likewise are the Dukes of *Venice*, and of some other free States of *Italy*. And the chief Cause, for which *Lewes*, Earl of *Flanders*, was lately expell'd from his Place, was for drawing to himself Cognizance in Matters of Life and Death; which high Power never pertained to his Dignity.

In these, and such like Governments, the Prince hath not Regal Rights ; but is himself subject to that Power which is greater than his, whether it be in the Nobility, or in the common People. But if the Sovereign Majesty be in the Prince, as it was in the three first Empires, and in the Kingdoms of *Judea and Israel*, and is now in the Kingdoms of *England, France, Spain, Scotland, Muscovia, Turkey, Tartaria, Persia, Ethiopia*, and almost all the Kingdoms of *Asia and Africk*, altho' for his Vices he be unprofitable to the Subjects, yea hurtful, yea intolerable ; yet can they lawfully neither harm his Person, nor hazard his Power, whether by Judgment, or else by Force ; for neither one, nor all Magistrates, have any Authority over the Prince, from whom all Authority is deriv'd, and whose only Presence doth silence and suspend all inferior Jurisdiction and Power. And as for Force, what Subject can attempt or assist, or counsel or conceal Violence against his Prince, and not incur the high and heinous Crime of Treason ?

It is a common Saying, Thought is free : Free indeed from Punishment of Secular Laws, except by Word or Deed it break forth into Action ; yet the secret Thoughts against the sacred Majesty of a Prince, without Attempt, without Endeavour, have been adjudged worthy of Death ; and some, who in Auricular Confession have discovered their treacherous Devices against the Person of their Prince, have afterwards been executed for the same. All Laws do exempt a mad Man from Punishment, because their Actions are not governed by their Will and Purpose ; and the Will of Man being set aside, all his Doings are indifferent. Neither can the Body offend without a corrupt or erroneous Mind ; yet if a mad Man draw his Sword upon his King, it has been adjudged to deserve Death. And lest any Man
should

should surmise that Princes, for the Maintenance of their own Safety and Sovereignty, are the only Authors of these Judgments, let us a little consider the Patterns and Precepts of Holy Scripture: *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Assyria* wasted all *Palestine* with Fire and Sword, oppugned *Hierusalem* a long time, and at last expugned it, slew the King, burnt the Temple, took away the Holy Vessels and Treasure; the rest he permitted to the Cruelty and Spoil of his unmerciful Soldiers, who defiled all Places with Rape and Slaughter, and ruinated to the Ground that flourishing City. After all the Glut of this bloody Butchery, the People which remain'd he led Captive to *Chaldea*, and there erected his Golden Image, and commanded, that they which refused to worship it should be cast into a fiery Furnace.

What Cruelty, what Injustice, what Impiety is comparable to this! And yet God called *Nebuchadnezzar* his Servant, and promis'd him Hire and Wages for his Service; and the Prophets *Jeremiah* and *Baruch* did write unto the *Jews* to pray for the Life of him and of *Baltazzar* his Son, that their Days might be upon Earth as the Days of Heaven. And *Ezekiel*, with bitter Terms, abhorreth the Disloyalty of *Zedechia*, because he revolted from *Nebuchadnezzar*, whose Homager and Tributary he was. What shall we say of *Saul*? Did he not put all the Priests to Execution, because one of them did relieve holy and harmless *David*? Did he not violently persecute that his most faithful Servant and dutiful Son-in-law? During which Pursuit, he fell twice into the Power of *David*, who did not only spare, but also protect the King, and reprov'd the pretorian Soldiers for their negligent Watch, and was touched in the Heart for cutting away the Lap of his Garment; and afterwards caused the Messenger to be slain, who, upon Request, and for Pity, had lent his Hand

Hand (as he said) to help forward the voluntary Death of that sacred King. As for the contrary Examples of that of *Jehu*, who slew *Jehoram* and *Ahaziah*, Kings of *Israel* and *Judea*, they were done by expresse Oracle and Revelation from God, and are no more set down for our Imitation, than the robbing the *Egyptians*, or any other particular and privileged Commandments; but in the general Precept, which all Men must ordinarily follow, not only our Actions, but our Speeches also, and our very Thoughts, are strictly charg'd with Duty and Obedience unto Princes, whether they be good or evil. The Law of God ordaineth, That he who doth presumptuously against the Ruler of his People shall die: And the Prophet *David* forbiddeth to touch the Lord's Anointed. Thou shalt not (saith the Lord) rail upon the Judges, neither speak evil against the Ruler of the People: And the Apostles do demand further, that even our Thoughts and Souls be obedient to higher Powers. And lest any should imagine that they meant of good Princes only, they speak generally of all. And further, to take away all Doubt, they make expresse mention of the Evil; for the Power and Authority of wicked Princes is the Ordinance of God; and therefore Christ told *Pilate*, that the Power which he had was given him from above. And the Prophet *Esay* calleth *Cyrus*, being a prophane and heathen Prince, the Lord's Anointed; for God stirreth up the Spirits even of wicked Princes to do his Will: And (as *Jehosaphat* said to his Rulers) they execute not the Judgment of Man, but of the Lord; in regard whereof *David* calleth them Gods, because they have their Rule and Authority immediately from God: which if they abuse, they are not to be adjudg'd by their Subjects; for no Power within their Dominion is superiour to theirs; but God reserveth them to the forest Trial. Hor-
ribly

ribly and suddenly (saith the wise Man) shall the Lord appear unto them, and a hard Judgment shall they have.

The Law of God commandeth, that the Child should be put to Death for any Contumely done unto the Parents. But what if the Father be a Robber? If a Murderer? If for all Excess of Villanies odious and execrable both to God and Man? Surely he deserveth the highest Degree of Punishment: And yet must not the Son lift up his Hand against him; for no Offence is so great as to be punished with Parricide. But our Country is dearer unto us than our Parents. And the Prince is *Pater Patriæ*, the Father of our Country; and therefore more sacred and dear to us than our Parents by Nature, and must not be violated, how imperious, how impious soever he be. Doth he command or demand our Persons or our Purfes? We must not shun for the one, nor shrink for the other; for (as *Nehemiah* saith) Kings have Dominion over the Bodies, and over the Cattle of their Subjects at their Pleasure. Doth he enjoin those Actions which are contrary to the Laws of God? We must neither wholly obey, nor violently resist; but with a constant Courage submit our selves to all manner of Punishment, and shew our Subjection by enduring, and not performing: Yea, the Church hath declared it to be an Heresy, to hold that a Prince may be slain or depos'd by his Subjects for any Disorder or Default either in Life, or else in Government. There will be Faults so long as there are Men; and as we endure with Patience a barren Year, if it happen, and unseasonable Weather, and such other Defects of Nature; so must we tolerate the Imperfections of Rulers, and quietly expect either Reformation, or else a Change.

But alas, good King *Richard*! What such Cruelty? What such Impiety hath he ever committed? Examine

mine rightly those Imputations which are laid against him, without any false Circumstance of Aggravation, and you shall find nothing objected either of any Truth or of great Moment. It may be that many Errors and Oversights have escap'd him, yet none so grievous to be term'd Tyranny, as proceeding rather from unexperienced Ignorance or corrupt Counsel, than from any natural and wilful Malice. Oh! how shall the World be pester'd with Tyrants, if Subjects may rebel upon every Pretence of Tyranny? How many good Princes shall daily be suppress'd by those by whom they ought to be supported? If they levy a Subsidy, or any other Taxation, it shall be term'd Oppression. If they put any to Death for traiterous Attempts against their Persons, it shall be exclaimed Cruelty. If they do any thing against the Lust and Liking of the People, it shall be proclaim'd Tyranny.

But let it be, that without Authority in us, or Desert in him, King *Richard* must be depos'd; yet what Right had the Duke of *Lancaster* to the Crown? Or what Reason have we, without his Right, to give it to him? If he make Title as Heir unto King *Richard*, then must he yet stay until King *Richard's* Death; for no Man can succeed as Heir to one that liveth. But it is well known to all Men, who are not either wilfully blind or grossly ignorant, that there are some now alive lineally descended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, whose Off-spring was, by Judgment of the High Court of Parliament, holden the eighth Year of the Reign of King *Richard*, declared next Successor to the Crown, in case King *Richard* should die without Issue. Concerning the Title from *Edmund Crouchback*, I will pass it over, seeing the Authors thereof are become ashamed of so absurd Abuse both of their own Knowledge and our Credulity; and therefore all the Claim is now
made

made by Right of Conquest, by the Cession and Grant of King *Richard*, and by the general Consent of all the People. It is a bad Wool that can take no Colour. But what Conquest can a Subject pretend against his Sovereign, where the War is Insurrection, and the Victory high and heinous Treason? As for the Resignation which King *Richard* made, being a pent Prisoner, for the same Cause it is an Act exacted by Force; and therefore of no Force or Validity to bind him: And seeing that by the Laws of this Land the King alone cannot alienate the ancient Jewels and Ornaments pertaining to the Crown, surely he cannot give away the Crown itself, and therewithal the Kingdom.

Neither have we any Custom, that the People at Pleasure should elect their King; but they are always bound unto him who by Right of Blood is right Successor: Much less can they confirm and make good that Title, which is before by Violence usurp'd; for nothing can then be freely done, when Liberty is once restrained by Fear. So did *Sylla*, by Terror of his Legions, obtain the Law of *Velleia* to be made, whereby he was created Dictator for fourscore Years. And by like Impression of Fear, *Cesar* caus'd the Law of *Servia* to be promulg'd, by which he was made perpetual Dictator. But both these Laws were afterwards adjudg'd void. As for the deposing King *Edward* II. it is no more to be urged than the poisoning of King *John*, or the murdering of any good and lawful Prince. We must live according to Laws, and not to Examples; and yet the Kingdom was not then taken from the lawful Successor. But if we look back to Times lately pass'd, we shall find that these Titles were more strong in King *Stephen* than they are in the Duke of *Lancaster*; for King *Henry* I. being at large Liberty, neither restrain'd in Body, nor constrain'd

in Mind, had appointed him to succeed (as it was upon good Credit certainly affirm'd); the People assented to this Designment; and thereupon, without Fear and without Force, he was anointed King, and obtained full Possession of the Realm: Yet *Henry* (Son of the Earl of *Anjou*) having a nearer Right by his Mother to the Crown (notwithstanding his Father was a Stranger, and himself born beyond the Seas) raised such rough Wars upon King *Stephen*, that there was no end of spoiling the Goods and spilling the Blood of the unhappy People, besides the Ruines and Deformities of many Cities and Holds, until his lawful Inheritance was to him absurd. It terrifieth me to remember how many flourishing Empires and Kingdoms have been, by means of such Contentions, either torn in pieces with intestine Division, or subdu'd to foreign Princes, under Pretence of Assistance and Aid: And I need not repeat how sore this Realm hath heretofore been shaken with these several Mischiefs; and yet neither the Examples of other Countries, nor the Miseries of our own, are sufficient to make us to beware.

O *Englishmen*! worse bewitch'd than the foolish *Galatians*! Our unstay'd Minds, and restless Resolutions, do nothing else but hunt after our own Harms! No People more hated Abroad, and none less quiet at Home! In other Countries the Sword of Invasion hath been shaken against us, in our own Land the Fire of Insurrection hath been kindled amongst us: And what are these Innovations, but Whetstones to sharpen the one, and Bellows to blow up the other?

Certainly I fear, that the same will happen unto us which *Aesop* fableth to have been fallen unto the Frogs, who being desirous to have a King, a Beam was given unto them; the first Fall whereof did put them in some Fear; but when they saw it lie still in the Stream, they insulted thereon with great Contempt,

tempt, and desired a King of quicker Courage; and then was sent unto them a Stork, which stalking among them with stately Steps, continually devoured them. The Mildness of King *Richard* hath bred in us this Scorn, interpreting it to be Cowardise and Dulness of Nature. The next Heir is likewise rejected. I will not say, that with greater Courage we shall find greater Cruelty. But if either of these shall hereafter be able to set up their Side, and bring the Matter to Trial by Arms, I do assuredly say, that which Part soever shall carry the Fortune of the Field, the People both ways must go to wreck. And thus have I declared my Mind concerning this Question, in more Words than your Wisdom, yet fewer than the Weight of the Cause doth require; and do boldly conclude, that we have neither Power nor Policy either to depose King *Richard*, or to elect Duke *Henry* in his Place: That King *Richard* remaineth still our Sovereign Prince; and therefore it is not lawful for us to give Judgment upon him. That the Duke, whom you call King, hath more offended against the King and the Realm, than the King hath done either against him or us; for being banished the Realm for ten Years by the King and his Council (amongst whom his own Father was chief) and sworn not to return again without special License, he hath not only violated his Oath, but with impious Arms disturbed the Quiet of the Land, and dispossest the King from his Royal Estate, and now demandeth Judgment against his Person, without Offence prov'd, or Defence heard. If this Injury and this Perjury doth nothing move us, yet let both our private and common Dangers somewhat withdraw us from these violent Proceedings.

The depos'd King, after the Sentence of his remaining in secure and safe Custody, was immediately
sent

King RICHARD II.

III

sent to the Castle of *Leeds* in *Kent*, and from thence to *Pontefract*-Castle in *Yorkshire*.

Hollingshead tells us, That one Writer (but names him not) who pretends to know more of King *Richard's* Death than others, reports, That one Day King *Henry*, sitting at Dinner, fetch'd a great Sigh, and spake these Words: *Have I no faithful Friend that will deliver me of him, whose Life will be Destruction to me, and Disturbance to the Kingdom!* Upon which Speech, one *Sir Pierce de Extone* presently left the Court, and went with eight Men, all arm'd, to *Pontefract*-Castle, enter'd the Chamber where King *Richard* was Prisoner, and beat out his Brains.

Mr. *Cambden*, in his *Britannia*, speaking of *Pontefract*-Castle, says, *Hic Richardus II. Rex Angliæ, quem Henricus Regno spoliavit, fame, frigore, & inauditis tormentis, scelerate sublatu est.* Here *Richard II.* from whom *Henry IV.* took, or robb'd him of the Kingdom, with Hunger, Cold, and unheard of Torments, was wickedly kill'd.

Froissart, who was then writing his Chronicle, says he could not tell by what means King *Richard* died.

The *Parliament-Roll* in the first of *Edward IV.* speaks thus: "That *Henry IV.* taking upon him "usurpously the Crown and Name of King of Eng-
"land, and Lord of *Ireland*, and not therewith sa-
"tisfy'd or content, but more grievous things at-
"tempting, wickedly, of unnatural, unmanly and
"cruel Tyranny, the same King *Richard* anointed,
"crown'd and consecrated, and his Liege and most
"High Lord in the Earth, against God's Law,
"Man's Allegiance and Oath of Fidelity, with ut-
"most Punition, Attormenting, murder'd and de-
"stroy'd with most vile, heinous, and lamentable
"Death.



HENRY IV.

1399.

His Pedigree
and Pretensions
to the
Crown.



HENRY IV. surnamed *Bolingbrook*, is reckoned to have begun his Reign at Michaelmas, 1399. He was Son and Heir of *John of Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster*, fourth Son to King *Edward III.* by *Blanch* his first Wife, Daughter and Heir of *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, Son of *Henry* Earl of *Lancaster*, who was Son and Heir to *Edmund*, call'd *Crouch-back*, the first Earl of *Lancaster*, and second Son of King *Henry III.* tho' the *Lancastrians*, to make out a Title by Descent, pretended that *Crouch-back* was the eldest Son of *Henry III.* But King *Henry IV.* being conscious of the Weakness of this Title, caus'd it to be proclaim'd, that he claim'd the Kingdom of *England*, *First*, By Right of Conquest. *Secondly*, Because King *Richard* had resign'd his Estate, and design'd him for his Successor. And *Lastly*, Because he was of the Blood Royal, and next Heir Male to King *Richard*. Which last Assertion was absolutely false too; for *Edmund Mortimer* Earl of *March*, the Son of *Roger Mortimer* Earl of *March*, who was Son and Heir of *Philippa*, only Daughter and Heir of *Lionel* the third Son of *Edward III.* was certainly nearer than King *Henry IV.* who descended from *John of Gaunt* the fourth Son of *Edward III.* And after all, we shall be troubled to discover any other Title *Henry IV.* had, than what he acquir'd by the Sword.

As for the Resignation and deposing of *Richard II.*

it

it was all but Grimace and formal Banter; to satisfy the deluded Mob. No Man in his Senses ever look'd upon such extorted Acts to be of any Force.

But by what means soever *Henry IV.* mounted the Throne, being *de facto* King, and crown'd the 13th of *October*, 1399, according to my usual Method, I shall proceed to give an Account of his Marriages and Issue. In the ninth Year of *Richard II.* he was created Earl of *Derby*, and married *Mary de Bohun*, the younger Daughter and Co-heir to *Humphrey* Earl of *Hereford*, *Essex* and *Northampton*, and Constable of *England*. By this Wife he had Issue,

His Marriages and Issue,

1. *Henry* of *Lancaster*, who succeeded him in the Throne, by the Name of *Henry V.* 2. *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, afterwards created Earl of *Albemarle* and Duke of *Clarence*. 3. *John* of *Lancaster*, afterwards created Earl of *Kendal* and Duke of *Bedford*. 4. *Humphrey* of *Lancaster*, the youngest Son of *Henry IV.* and *Mary de Bohun* his first Wife, afterwards created Earl of *Pembroke* and Duke of *Gloucester*. He had also by this Wife two Daughters, viz. *Blanch*, married to the Duke of *Bavaria*; and *Philippa*, married to *John* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

King *Henry* buried his first Wife *Mary de Bohun*, Anno 1394, being before he came to the Crown. And in 1403 he married *Joan* of *Navarre*, Daughter of *Charles II.* King of *Navarre*, and Relict of *Montfort* Duke of *Britany*, by whom he had no Issue. She surviv'd him many Years. He died the 20th of *March*, in the 47th Year of his Age, and 14th of his Reign, *A. D.* 1413.

Of this King *Henry IV.* Mr. *Echard* has collected the following Character; viz. That he had all the Qualifications of a great and mighty Prince, and one, who by his Vigour and Management surmounted infinite Difficulties, all arising from the Want of a just Title to the Crown, which drove him to

His Character.

wade through Seas of Blood, and to bring vast Mischiefs upon the *English* Subjects. As to his Person, he was of a moderate Stature, well proportion'd and compacted, of a great Strength and Agility of Body, skilful in Arms, and of a quick Dispatch, equally shewing himself both earnest and advis'd in all his Actions. He was very ready in Imagination, forward in Attempts, courageous in Execution, and generally fortunate in the Event. There was no great Place of Employment or Charge, which he would not rather affect for Glory, than refuse for Peril or Pains; and in Service he usually prov'd himself not only a skilful Commander, by giving Directions, but also an admirable Soldier in using his Weapon, sometimes venturing his Person further than Policy would allow. His Expences were liberal and honourable; yet not exceeding the Measure of his Receipts. He was very courteous and familiar towards all Men, by which he procur'd more Love among the meaner than the greater. In all the Changes of his State he was almost one and the same Man; in Adversity never dejected, in Prosperity never secure; still retaining his Majesty in one, and his Mildness in the other. Nor did the Continuance of his Reign bring him to any proud Behaviour; but in his latter Years he appear'd so mild and gentle, that it almost wore out all Hatred borne him for the Death of King *Richard*. He would not easily be drawn into any Cause, but was firm and constant in a good one; yet was more easy to be either corrupted or abus'd by flattering Speeches, than terrify'd by any Threats. His great Error was his mighty Thirst after human Glory, which made him too little examine the just and religious means of attaining it, for which the Vengeance of Heaven seems to have met his Posterity in the third Generation.

There

There were several Acts of Piety and Charity done in this Reign, besides those by the famous *William of Wickham*, in naming of which we ought not to pass by the excellent *Sir Richard Whittington* Mayor of *London*, who erected a College in that City, with Lodgings and Weekly Allowances for divers poor People. He erected that Gate of *London* call'd *Newgate*, which before was a loathsome Prison; and built more than half of *St. Bartholomew's* Hospital in *Smithfield*, and the beautiful Library in the *Gray-Friers*, now call'd *Christ's-Hospital*. He also built a great Part of the *East End* of *Guild-Hall*, and a Chapel adjoining to it, with a Library of Stone for the Custody of the Records of the City; and in his last Will he shew'd the highest Marks of Compassion and Christianity. Among the noted Men in this Reign, we must not forget the two famous Poets, *Geoffrey Chancer*, and *John Gower*, the two great Reformers of our *English* Tongue; of whom the first died in the fourth of this Reign, and was bury'd in *Westminster-Abby*; and the other in the ninth, and was bury'd in *St. Mary Overies* in *Southwark*.

His Buildings
and charita-
ble Endow-
ments.

Chancer and
Gower flour-
ished in this
Reign.

In the last Reign we have shewn by what Arts, and on what Pretences King *Henry IV.* obtain'd the Crown. We shall now enquire how long the People rejoic'd in their new Master, and what new Privileges and Advantages they acquir'd by the Revolution. And it seems the Year had hardly gone about, before the People, conscious of their Error, enter'd into a Conspiracy to restore King *Richard*; so little were their Expectations answer'd in the Monarch of their own making. And had not the Design been discover'd by a very extraordinary Accident, it had in all probability prov'd fatal to the new King. But it must be acknowledg'd he was a very lucky Prince, and consequently rightful in some Men's Eyes; for he surpriz'd the principal Conspirators,

A Review of
the Reign of
Henry IV.

when they were upon the Point of executing their Design, of whom he beheaded several, particularly the Earls of *Kent*, *Salisbury*, *Gloucester*, and *Huntingdon*. The King of *France* also was preparing to invade *England* in behalf of the depos'd King. And now, says my Author, King *Richard's* Death seem'd necessary, that is, it became necessary to add Murder, and even the Murder of their Sovereign, to Treason and Rebellion, if they would establish the Usurpation. This is one of those prudent Methods, I suppose, our Author commends this wise Prince for taking to settle himself in the Throne; but of this horrid Fact I have given a Relation before. And it seems he was so wise too, to divert the Eyes of the People from the many Executions he found necessary, by turning their Eyes and Arms against the *Scots*. Whether the War were just or not, our Historians don't much trouble themselves to consider; but they very truly observe, that one Murder is frequently found necessary to conceal or defend another. But his Policy never shin'd so bright as in his firm unalterable Attachment to the Clergy, whose Power and Influence in those Days was much superior to what it is now; and yet it might not be ill Policy to keep fair with the Clergy even now. We see how strenuously he oppos'd all Attempts in Parliament to invade their Temporals; and he found his Account in it; for they as steadily adher'd to him all his Reign, which gave him the Advantage of his Competitors: And it is a common Observation, that as many Princes have miscarried by laying their Hands upon the Clergy, as by any one false Step whatever. There is another Instance of this Prince's Craft or Prudence that deserves a Mention; and that is, his commanding the Earl of *March*, the next Heir to the Crown, to oppose the *Welsh* with such an inconsiderable Force, that in all human probability

probability he must miscarry; and the Earl being defeated and made Prisoner, according to the King's Expectations, he let him remain a Prisoner in a loathsome Dungeon a considerable time, without offering any Ransom for him; for nothing could add more to his Security than the Confinement of his Competitor, unless it were his Death. And thus was King Henry continued in possession of the Throne, by a Series of lucky Accidents, much beyond what the greatest Wisdom could have foreseen.

But his Security was again interrupted by a Conspiracy of his nearest Friends, and those who had contributed most to advance him to the Throne: Even the Earl of *Northumberland*, and young *Peirce* his Son, known by the Name of *Hotspur*, with the Earl of *Gloucester*, under the old Pretence of Male-Administration, took up Arms against him; but still his good Fortune attended him, and he defeated *Hotspur* and *Gloucester* before they were join'd by the rest of the Conspirators. *Hotspur* was kill'd upon the Spot, and *Gloucester* taken and beheaded. As for the old Earl of *Northumberland*, he had not declar'd himself, it seems, and so was pardon'd for this time; but he never left plotting against this King of his own Creation, till he was kill'd in an Engagement in *Yorkshire*. And the Archbishop of *York*, and the Earl Marshal, his Accomplices, were beheaded. And in short, hardly a Year pass'd without Conspiracies and Insurrections, and the Execution of Noblemen and Gentlemen in cold Blood; and among the rest was Sir *Roger Clarendon*, natural Son of *Edward Prince of Wales*, known by the Name of the *Black Prince*.

These Insurrections occasion'd the levying heavy Taxes to suppress them, and even the Parliament began to be out of Temper with their glorious Hero.

It was with difficulty they rais'd him Money; and had it not been more in regard to their own Fears of what might happen upon another Change, than any Fondness they had for him, they had discover'd yet greater Uneasiness. However, they did not spare to express their Spleen against his Friends the Clergy, and would fain have seiz'd their Temporals to have spared their own Estates from Taxes; but he would not hear of it.

King *Henry* having at length terrify'd his Enemies (his Subjects) into Submission, was the last Year or two of his Reign free from Insurrections; and the Dukes of *Burgundy* and *Orleans* having divided *France* into two Factions, King *Henry* sent a Body of Troops to the Assistance of the Duke of *Burgundy*. But *Orleans* offering him greater Advantages, if he would come over to his Party, he recall'd the Forces he had sent to the Assistance of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and join'd the Duke of *Orleans*; so great a Regard had he to the Justice of the Cause, that it seems nothing but his own Interest could bias him. But to draw to a Conclusion.

Our Author informs us, that discoursing with his Son upon his Death-bed concerning the Crown, he fetch'd a deep Sigh, and said, *What Right I had to it God only knows*; which shews what Right he had to it even in his own Opinion. However, instead of talking of Restitution, he gives his Son Instructions how he should govern after his Decease, and then expir'd.

From this Survey of this Prince's Reign, what Advantages do we find the Nation reap'd by deposing their old King and setting up this? Do they bear any Proportion to those infinite Slaughters and Devastations that ensu'd, and the heavy Taxes that were laid upon them? For my Part, I can't discover that

King HENRY IV.

119

that Religion, Liberty, or Property, were at all the better secur'd by this Revolution, notwithstanding all the Noise that was made about them. And tho' the restoring or advancing these was pretended, and the Male-Administration of King *Richard* was the great Grievance complain'd of, yet had not private Interest and Ambition been at the Bottom, no Change had ever been attempted. It is the Publick Good the Rebel ever pretends; but his own Ambition is the real Spring and Motive of his Actions.



HENRY V.



HENRY V. the eldest Son and Heir of *Henry IV.* and *Mary de Bohun* his first Wife, succeeded his Father in the Throne. His Title was no better than his Father's, unless the Successor of a Usurper be look'd upon to have a stronger Title than the Usurper himself; for *Edmund* Earl of *March* was still living, whom the whole Nation knew was next in Blood. But since he did not yet put in his Claim, and *Henry V.* was recogniz'd and crown'd (*viz.* the ninth of *April 1413.*) I shall proceed as usual to give an Account of his Marriage and Issue.

14¹³₁₃

His Title and Pedigree.

Upon the Conclusion of the Peace with *France*, *Henry V.* in pursuance of one of the Articles of that Treaty, married the Lady *Katherine*, Daughter of the *French* King *Charles VI.* on the 30th of *May 1420*, in the seventh Year of his Reign, He had Issue by her only *Henry* surnam'd *Windsor*, from the Place

His Marriage and Issue.

Place of his Birth, who succeeded him in the Throne. And Queen *Katherine*, after the King's Decease, married *Owen Tudor*, a *Welsh* Gentleman, said to be descended from *Coel*, one of the Kings of *Britain*; by whom she had Issue *Edmund Tudor* Earl of *Richmond*, the Father of *Henry* Earl of *Richmond*, who afterwards enjoy'd the Crown of *England* by the Name of *Henry VII.*

His Age and Death.

His Character.

King *Henry V.* died the 31st of *August* 1422, in the 34th Year of his Age, and 10th of his Reign. Our Author says, he had all the Accomplishments of Body and Mind which are required to the finishing a great Man. His Stature was tall and majestick; his Body, tho' lean and slender, had all its Limbs well proportion'd and strongly fram'd; his Neck long, his Hair black, and a manly Beauty shin'd in his Face, as well as sparkled in his Eyes. His Strength and Agility was admirable in all the Exercises he perform'd, which was continually preserv'd by his being temperate, chaste, inur'd to all the Hardships of War, patient of Heat and Cold, Hunger and Thirst, and moderate in Sleep. He was a nice Observer of Justice, pious in his Religion, constant in his Devotions, a great Patron of the Church and Clergy, and abounding in Works of Charity; wise in his Counsels, magnanimous in his Designs, and resolute in pursuing them; great and somewhat reserv'd in his Temper, given to speak little; but all he said was like himself. As to his Valour and Bravery, his whole Reign was a continu'd and wonderful Instance of it, in the Exercise of which, his strictest Orders were so nicely obey'd, that he reviv'd the Martial Discipline of the old *Romans*, by which they conquer'd the World: And never was the *English* Valour so gloriously display'd as in this Reign. For his great Acts he has been compar'd to no less than three of the nine Worthies

Worthies of the World; to *David* the Prophet for Piety, to *Cesar* the Invincible for Glory, and to *Alexander the Great* for Magnanimity: And with this Advantage, that he was not unchaste like *David*, vain-glorious like *Cesar*, nor intemperate like *Alexander*, who, while they conquer'd others, became Slaves to their own Passions. As he exceeded them in these Qualifications, so he was not inferior to them in his Fortunes, being neither so dejected as *David*, so much envied as *Cesar*, nor so dreaded as *Alexander*, it being his good Fortune never to be distress'd, distrusted, or despis'd. But the unexpected Loss of this Prince in the flower of his Youth, and in the midst, or rather rising, of his prosperous Fortune, will serve for a pregnant Instance and Example, to shew what slender Hold mortal Man has of worldly Greatness and Glory, being continually subject either to the sudden Loss of it, or as suddenly to be taken from it. And indeed there seems to be something of the more immediate Hand of Providence in it, which now began to chastise the Progeny of King *Henry IV.*

His Works of Piety were shewn in erecting the Monasteries of *Bethlehem* and *Bridget*, near his Manor of *Richmond*; as also his bounteous Gifts to the Works and Furniture of *Westminster* Church; besides the Fraternity of *St. Giles* without *Cripplegate*; and many other greater things he had projected at *Oxford*, and other Places. To leave a Testimony of his Affection to Arms, he first instituted *Garret* Principal King at Arms, besides other honourable Augmentations to the Order of *St. George*. In this Reign flourish'd, besides the most renown'd Soldiers, many Men of Note for Arts and Learning, as *William Linwood*, the great Canonist of that Age; *Stephen Parrington*, *Robert Maschal*, *Alain de Lyn*, *Thomas Otterborn*, *John Sherburn*, *John Leland*, and many others.

Henry

His Buildings
and charita-
ble Endow-
ments.

A Review of
the Reign of
Henry V.

Henry V. we are inform'd, before his Accession to the Crown, led the Life of a Rapparee rather than a Prince, descended even to associate himself with common Felons, and rob upon the High-way; but that upon his coming to the Crown, he immediately abandon'd all his rakish Companions, and apply'd himself with great Diligence to the weighty Affairs of State.

He began his Reign, 'tis said, with some very popular and pious Acts, such as removing the Body of King *Richard* from *Langley*, where it had been meanly interr'd, and bringing it with great Pomp to *Westminster-Abbey*, where he erected a suitable Monument for him. He desired also Absolution of the Pope, and did Penance himself for his Father's Guilt, in deposing and murdering King *Richard*; and granted an annual Sum to be distributed yearly to the Poor on the Day the Murder was perpetrated. But still, whether any thing short of Restitution would obliterate the Guilt of such Crimes in the Eye of Heaven, is a very great Question. And there are some, who, notwithstanding his great Success in *France*, look upon his being cut off in the midst of his Age and Glory, as a signal Instance of the divine Vengeance upon that Family; and the rather, for that all those large Dominions, which himself or his Father had acquired both in *France* and *England*, were wrested from his Son, and restored to the true Proprietors; and they say, if we may ever judge of the Displeasure of Heaven by any Events on Earth, it seems as if the Deity was not altogether pleas'd by the Performance of that Penance the Pope enjoin'd him.

He proceeded also to another Act esteemed no less pious in those Days, namely the destroying and persecuting the Disciples of Doctor *Wickliffe*, and amongst others, caus'd Sir *John Oldcastle* to be burnt;

tho'

tho' this possibly might proceed rather from a political Principle he had receiv'd from his Father, of making the Clergy his Friends, than from any innate Cruelty or Bigotry in the King himself; for we see, when the Parliament reviv'd their Project of retrenching the Revenues of the Clergy, he with all his Might oppos'd the Motion, knowing very well, that it was the Interest of the Clergy, in a great measure, that advanced and supported his Father in the Throne, and which could best maintain his own precarious Title.

Archbishop *Chicheley*, we find, partly to divert any further Enquiries into the Wealth and Possessions of the Clergy, and partly to gratify the King's Ambition, propos'd the renewing the Pretensions of *England* to the Crown of *France*: A Claim that he knew had been solemnly renounc'd and relinquish'd in former Reigns, and given up by several subsequent Treaties of Peace. But whether the War was just or unjust, was not the Point; the Church was in danger of being stript of her Temporals, and the Crown required standing Forces to support it; and no such specious Pretence for keeping up a standing Army as a War. Besides, the Weakness of the present *French* King, and the Factions that at this time divided that Kingdom, gave very great Hopes of Success in the Enterprize.

The *French* hearing of the great Preparations against them, and being too well appriz'd of the ill Situation of their own Affairs, made large Offers to King *Henry*, if he would desist from his intended Expedition. But no Terms wou'd be accepted; whereupon the *French* Ambassadors plainly told him, that he was so far from having any Right to *France*, that he had none to *England*; which still irritated and provok'd the King the more, and made him redouble his Efforts. But the *French* were

very near defeating all his Projects; for they had tamper'd with the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lord Treasurer *Scroop*, and others, and furnish'd them with large Sums of Money, in order to raise an Insurrection in *England*, which the King had the good Luck to discover but just before he embark'd for *France*; whereupon he beheaded the Earl of *Cambridge*, the Lord *Scroop*, and the principal Conspirators, and afterwards pursu'd his Voyage to *Normandy*, with an Army of thirty thousand Men. He obtain'd a great Victory over the *French* at *Agincourt*, and reduced great part of *Normandy* in this first Expedition, and then return'd to *England* for Supplies.

In his second Expedition he reduc'd *Roan*, and made a compleat Conquest of *Normandy*; whereupon a Treaty was set on foot, and the *French* made large Concessions, which we still rejected.

In the Year 1420, another Treaty was propos'd; and it was agreed, that King *Henry* should marry the Princess *Katherine*, Daughter to King *Charles VI.* That King *Henry* shou'd be Regent of *France* during the Life of King *Charles*, who shou'd enjoy the State and Stile of King while he liv'd; and after his Death, the Kingdom of *France* should go to King *Henry* and his Heirs. And tho' *England* and *France* would then be subject to one Prince, it was agreed they should be govern'd by their respective Laws.

King *Henry*, upon the Conclusion of this Treaty, enter'd *Paris* in Triumph, took upon him the Administration of the Government, and coin'd Money expressing the Union of the two Kingdoms. The Parliament of *France* ratify'd the Treaty, and the Nobility Spiritual and Temporal, and Magistrates, took their Oaths to King *Henry*; and the Dauphin was formally excluded the Succession, who notwithstanding had a strong Party in the Kingdom, that still held out against King *Henry*; who returning to

England

England with his Queen, demanded fresh Supplies of the Parliament, to enable him to finish his Conquests. The Parliament, I perceive, grumbled, as we have seen them in our Days, that the conquer'd Countries yielded so little towards the Support of the War; and that the farther our Conquests were extended, the more the Nation was beggar'd. They complain'd that private Men, who made great Advantages by the War, advis'd the Continuance of it, and had no regard to the Good of their Country, which was extremely impoverish'd by the Taxes they had already given; and therefore advis'd his Majesty to make Peace.

Notwithstanding these Representations, the King made a third Voyage to *France*, and took several Towns from the *Dauphin*; but in the midst of his Successes he was taken ill, and died at *Bois de Vincennes*. It is said, upon his Death-bed he reflected upon the Blood he had spilt, but comforted himself with the Justice and Necessity of the War, and the Glory and Advantage that wou'd accrue to *England* by his Conquests; and no doubt he found Confessors, who did not only absolve and sooth him in his Errors, but told him his Actions merited an everlasting Reward. A Prince so successful, and so fast a Friend to the Clergy, cou'd never want a Place in Heaven in those Days.

But shou'd we turn the Tables, and suppose (for it will admit of a Doubt) that the War in the Beginning, or at least in the Continuance of it, was neither so just or necessary as we are made to believe; then where will be the Glory? Where the Justice of cutting so many Throats, and of harassing and burning Countries, especially among Christians, whose Religion is far from countenancing such glorious Destruction? And further, if instead of any Advantage accruing to *England* by this mighty Expedition,

Expedition, we find the *English* were beggar'd and impoverish'd by the War; then will not the Nation appear to have been as happy in more peaceable Reigns, when the Prince has made a less Figure in History? It has been long since observed of the most martial Princes, the *Alexanders* and the *Cesars*, that they were but more notorious Robbers. And as for *Henry V.* does any one think he did a thousandth part of the Mischief, when he was a private Robber, as when he wasted *France* with Fire and Sword, and oppress'd his *English* Subjects with heavy Taxes to maintain his Troops?

We are generally very severe upon the private Vices of Princes; but an unbounded Ambition destroys and impoverishes more than all other Vices put together: And were it not that some popular Ministers, who hope to share the Plunder, usually impose on the Credulity of the Vulgar by specious Pretences, they wou'd never be induc'd to contribute to an unnecessary War.



H E N R Y VI.

1422.
His Pedigree.



HENRY VI. the only Child of *Henry V.* by *Katherine de Valois*, youngest Daughter of *Charles VI.* King of *France*, succeeded his Father at nine Months old; the Duke of *Exeter*, and Bishop of *Winchester*, being appointed his Guardians; his Uncle, *John Duke of Bedford*, made Regent of *France*; and his younger Uncle, *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, Regent of *England*, during his Minority. He was crown'd King

of England at *Westminster* the 6th of November 1429; and on the 17th of November 1431, he was crown'd King of France at *Paris*.

As to his Title to either Kingdom, it was the same with his Father's, which I take to be Conquest; for it is not a long Series of Time that can extinguish a Right, or make that Title good that was originally bad, especially where the Person, in whom the Right is, is universally known.

In the Year 1444, King *Henry VI.* married *Margaret*, the Daughter of *Reynar* Duke of *Anjou*, by whom he had Issue only one Son, *Edward* of *Lancaster*, who being taken Prisoner by King *Edward IV.* at the Battle of *Tewksbury*, is said to be kill'd, in cold Blood, by *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, being then about seventeen Years of Age.

In the 38th Year of the Reign of *Henry VI.* 1460, *Richard* Duke of *York* exhibited his Claim to the Crown in Parliament; and it was agreed, that King *Henry* should enjoy the Crown for Life; and that after the Death of *Henry VI.* the Crown should revert to the House of *York*. The Queen being dissatisfy'd with this Agreement, rais'd Forces, and routed the Duke of *York* at the Battle of *Wakefield*, where he was kill'd upon the Spot; she also defeated his Ally the Earl of *Warwick* at *St. Albans*. But *Edward* Earl of *March*, eldest Son to the Duke of *York*, gathering a superior Force, and marching to *London*, laid Claim to the immediate Possession of the Crown, by virtue of the abovesaid Determination in Parliament, and was proclaimed King there on the 4th of *March*, 1461, in the 39th Year of *Henry VI.* and the 40th of his Age: For by the Agreement aforesaid, upon any Attempt to break into the said Settlement, the Family of *York* was immediately to succeed to the Crown. But of this more at large in the Reflections on the Reign of this Prince.

His Character.

In the Character our Author gives us of *Henry VI.* he says, as to his Person, he was comely and well proportioned, and had Virtues sufficient to make a Saint; no King ever shewing more Piety and Devotion than himself. He had one Immunity peculiar to himself, that no Man could ever be revenged on him, because he never offered any Man an Injury. He was so chaste and modest, that when in a publick Mask some Ladies presented themselves before him with their Breasts uncovered, he immediately rose up, and exclaimed against their Behaviour: So merciful, that when he saw the Quarters of a Traitor over *Cripplegate*, he caus'd them to be taken down, declaring, *He would have no Christian so cruelly treated for his sake*: So free from swearing, that he never us'd any Affeuration but *Forsooth* and *Verily*: So patient, that to one who struck him when he was taken Prisoner, he only said, *You wrong yourself more than me to strike the Lord's Anointed*: So devout, that on the chief Holy Days he us'd to wear Sackcloth next his Skin: And so innocent in general, that his Confessor declar'd, *That for ten Years space he never found any thing he had said or done, for which he might justly enjoin him Penance*. And herein consisted his Happiness, that he was the only Prince, perhaps, in the World that never distinguish'd between Adversity and Prosperity; being so intent upon his Devotion, as to think nothing Adversity that did not interrupt that. But this brought him under the sole Power of others, and made him fitter for a Priest than a King; and had his Virtues been as useful to the Publick, as those of his pious Father, neither the Duke of *York*, nor his Son, durst have contested with him for his Kingdom. Not to exclude Providence, the People's Inclinations were then the only thing which took the Kingdom from one, and gave it to the other; which

which may teach Princes, that long Possession without the Practice of princely Actions, is not sufficient for their Conservation. In him was confirm'd that wise Sentence, *Woe to that Nation whose King is a Child*, and rather shews it means in Government more than in Years: For as long as he continued a Child in Years, his Kingdoms flourished by the Care of his Uncles; but when he ceas'd to be so in Years, and continued to be so in Government, all things ran to Ruin, both in *France* and *England*, and a great part of his Time was a Reign of Disgrace, Misery, and Blood. And notwithstanding his extraordinary Piety, his manifest Breach of Faith to the Earl of *Armagnack* ought not to pass uncensur'd by a Christian Historian: And the great *Raleigh* observes, that as he refus'd the Daughter of that Prince, by which he might have defended his Inheritance in *France*, and married the Daughter of *Anjou*, by which he lost all that he had in that Country; so in condescending to the unworthy Death of his Uncle of *Gloucester*, the main Pillar of the House of *Lancaster*, he drew on himself and his Kingdom the greatest Loss and Dishonour that ever it sustained since the *Norman* Conquest.

Notwithstanding this, Reign was both troublesome and calamitous, it was remarkable for many pious and charitable Foundations, and for several eminent and worthy Men. The King himself founded two famous Colleges, the one in *Cambridge*, called the *College-Royal*, or *King's-College*; and the other at *Eaton* near *Windsor*; to the Maintenance of which he gave three thousand four hundred Pounds *per Annum*; and the glorious Chapel of the former shews of what wonderful Magnificence the whole should have been, had the Founder reign'd to finish it. In the 28th Year of this Reign Queen *Margaret* began the Foundation of *Queen's-College*

His Buildings and charitable Endowments.

College in Cambridge. Three Colleges in Oxford were also founded in this Reign, *All-Souls, Bernard, and Magdalen*; the two first by *Henry Chicheley*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and the latter by *William of Wainfleet*, Bishop of *Winchester*; as also the famous Divinity-School, by *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*. There were many other Foundations and Buildings made in other Places, as the College of *Tatshall* in *Lincolnshire*, by *Ralph Lord Cromwell*; *Leaden-Hall* in *London*, by *Simon Eyre*, Mayor; the Standard in *Cheapside*, &c. As to Men of Valour, the Duke of *Bedford*, the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Talbot*, and the Earl of *Warwick*, were the chief; besides which there were many others: So that it may be said, as there never was a more heroical King of *England* than *Henry V.* so never any King had more heroical Subjects than *Henry VI.* who had been train'd under his Father and Grandfather. As to Men of Learning, they are too numerous to be particularized: We shall only mention *John Leland* the elder, who wrote divers Treatises for Instruction of Grammarians; *Peter Basset*, Esq; one of the Privy-Chamber to *Henry V.* whose Life he wrote; *Thomas Walsingham*, *Thomas Radburn*, *John Capgrave*, and *John Wethamsted*, all Writers of some Parts of the *English History*; *John Lydgate*, a Monk of *Bury*, and celebrated Poet; *Richard* and *Robert Flemming*, *Thomas Dando*, and *Robert Bale*.

A Review
of the Reign
of *Henry VI.*

During the first seven Years of this Reign, we find the War in *France* carried on with various Success, till the Dauphin, to raise the Spirits of his Party, gave out, that *Joan of Arck*, a Virgin of eighteen Years, was sent to him by God to deliver the Realm of *France* from the *English Yoke*, and restore him to all his Dominions. This Girl, it seems, was of a noble Courage, and charg'd in Person at the Head of his Troops, and meeting with Success in several Engagements,

gements, particularly in relieving *Orleans*, when it was besieged by the *English*, the *French* began to look upon her what she pretended to be, and paid her almost divine Honours. Whatever she commanded they never feared to execute; and the Dauphin was crown'd King of *France* at *Rheims* by her particular Directions.

To the Artifices of this Impostor we may in some measure ascribe the Restoration of the *French* Affairs, and the future ill Success of the *English*. It is amazing to see with what Intrepidity Troops will advance, what Hardships they will submit to, if you can once induce them to believe that they fight in the Cause of Heaven, and shall be assisted by supernatural Aids; their Success is almost as certain as if they really had that divine Aid they imagine they have. And accordingly, many great Captains have had Recourse to Stratagems of this Nature, and succeeded, when nothing else could, in human Probability, have recovered their Affairs. To give an Instance of it in our own Nation: The Rebellion of forty one had never met with that Success, if the Rebels had not been taught to believe their Cause was the *Cause of God*, and that every Man that died in it was sure of Salvation. The Church of *Rome* too had formerly us'd the same Stratagem, and by it depos'd and murder'd Kings and Emperors, and brought whole Nations under Tribute. And as for antient *Rome*, and even the whole Pagan World, how were they in a manner govern'd by their Oracles, and by good or ill Omens, and would rarely undertake any thing but where they were made to believe that Heaven was on their Side? and the Dexterity of their Commanders seems to lie in applying unusual Accidents, and every *Phænomena* in Nature, to their present Purpose.

To return : Those, who had the Administration of the *English* Affairs, finding them begin to decline very much by this Device of the Dauphin, having taken *Joan* the Virgin Prisoner, they burnt her for a Witch, hoping thereby to undeceive her Votaries ; but she had done her Business by reviving the drooping Spirits of the *French* before she died, and shewn them the way to Victory. They did not want Numbers before, and she inspired them with a Resolution, which turn'd the Scale, and made them superior to their Enemies. The *English* endeavour'd to restore their Affairs, by carrying their young King over to *France*, and crowning him at *Paris*. But all would not do : They lost one Town and Province after another : The Duke of *Burgundy* deserted the *English*, and went over to the *French* : *Paris* itself revolted : The Governors of the young King fell out ; and about the same time the Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, died. The King married, and was governed by his Queen, who caus'd the Duke of *Gloucester* to be murdered. The People were impoverish'd by the War, and exclaim'd at the Administration ; so that every thing seem'd to concur to the Loss of our Acquisitions in *France*. The Dukedom of *Normandy* particularly, observing the Weakness and Perplexity the *English* were in, revolted to the *French*, after the *English* had been in Possession of it thirty Years. Mr. *Echard*, from *Polydore Virgil*, has given us the following Account of the Calamities *France* and *England* suffered by this thirty Years consuming Land War, which one would think should have been a sufficient Caution against entering into such another. He says, while the *English* and *French* contended for Dominion, Men's Goods were violently taken by the Licentiousness of War ; Churches robb'd ; People in all Places murder'd, wounded, or tortur'd ; Matrons abus'd ; Vir-

gins

gins torn from their Parents Arms to be ravish'd; Towns daily taken, daily plunder'd, daily defac'd; the Riches of the Inhabitants us'd at the Conqueror's Pleasure; Houses and Villages on all Sides flaming with Fire; no kinds of Cruelty unpractis'd upon the miserable *French*; omitting innumerable other Calamities which all at once oppress'd them. Add to this, that the whole Republick being destitute of the Benefit of Laws, which, for the most part, are silent in times of War, and Mutiny floated up and down without any Anchorage of Right or Justice. Nor was *England* herself free from these Calamities, who every Day heard the News of her valiant Children's Funeral, slain in perpetual Skirmishes and Encounters, and found her general Wealth continually ebbing and decreasing; so that the Evils seem'd almost equal, and the whole Western World echo'd the Groans of either Nation's Quarrels, as being the common Foundation of Discourse and Compassion throughout *Christendom*.

And had the *English* succeeded, and establish'd their Dominion in *France*, what Satisfaction would that have made for all this Blood and Rapine, and the Expence they had been at? Do we suppose that the Regal Seat would have long remain'd in *England*? Would not *England* have been in much the same Condition, by such a Union, as *Scotland* is at this Day? Does not the greater Kingdom ever draw the lesser after it? Would not your Court, if not your Parliament, have been held there, and consequently your Wealth carried thither? Possibly some few of the Adventurers, the Courtiers, Generals, Admirals, and Tax-gatherers, might have found their Advantage in such an Acquisition; but the Nation in general must have been ruin'd, and in time become subject and tributary to *France*; and there-

fore we may thank Heaven that our Ancestors had no better Success.

And I believe it will be difficult to assign one sufficient Reason why any Nation should endeavour to extend their Conquests, after they have once gain'd a sufficient Barrier, how much soever it may be for the Grandeur or Interest of their Governors to enlarge their Dominions.

After these Reflections on the *French Wars*, I shall proceed to consider some other Parts of the Administration in this Reign. And we may in the first Place observe an unequal and unsteady Management in relation to the House of *York*, or the Family of *Mortimer*; for we find Sir *John Mortimer*, who was detain'd a Prisoner in the *Tower*, under Pretence of some treasonable Practices with his Keepers, attainted of High-Treason, and executed in the third Year of this Reign.

On the contrary, *Richard* Earl of *Cambridge*, Son and Heir of the late Earl of *Cambridge*, who was beheaded by *Henry V.* and Nephew and Heir of the late Duke of *York*, is restored to Blood, and created Duke of *York*, which was look'd upon as no small Over-sight in the Ministry; he being next Heir to the Crown.

In the tenth Year of this Reign we find an Insurrection in *Oxfordshire*, begun by the Bailiff of *Abington*, who gave himself the Name of *Jack Sharp* of *Wigmore's* Lands in *Wales*; from whence it was conjectured, that the Duke of *York*, to whom *Wigmore* belong'd, occasioned this Insurrection, to found the Affections of the People to his Family: But however that Matter was, the Insurrection was soon suppress'd, and *Jack Sharp*, as he called himself, executed as a Traitor. And it seems the Ministry were so little apprehensive of any Designs of the Duke of *York*, that upon the young King's

going over to *France* to be crown'd, *York* was made Constable of *England*; and upon the Death of the Duke of *Bedford*, in the tenth Year of this Reign, he was made Regent of *France*. But from the time of the King's Marriage, which happen'd in the twenty third Year of his Reign, *York* began to be looked upon with a jealous Eye, and his Rival the Duke of *Somerset*, the Queen's great Favourite, was made Regent of *France* in his room, and had the Direction of all Affairs of State.

However, the first who felt the Queen's Vengeance was the Duke of *Gloucester*, who had oppos'd her Marriage; a Crime never to be forgiven. This Nobleman, who had governed the Nation many Years with great Applause, was committed for High Treason, and the next Day found murder'd in his Bed: And how much soever this might gratify the Court for the present, who thought they could not act with Freedom while they were under the Inspection of this great Man, nothing contributed more to the Ruin of the Queen and her Family than this Fact. The *Lancastrians* did not only thereby lose a very great Support, but alienated the Affections of the People from them, of which the Duke of *York* made his Advantage; for a Year was hardly elapsed, before we find him insinuating his Title to the Crown among his Friends; though, to the World, the plausible Pretences of his Discontent were the daily Losses in *France*, proceeding from Male-Administration at Home.

The Duke of *York* being sent to his Government of *Ireland*, is said to have contributed very much to the Peace and Settlement of that Kingdom, and render'd himself exceeding popular there. In the mean time there happened a very formidable Insurrection in *England* under *Jack Cade*; one of whose Demands was, that the present Ministry might be remov'd,

remov'd, and the Duke of *York* be recalled from *Ireland*, and have the Direction of Affairs; which made it believ'd that this was another Project of *York's* to discover the Bent and Inclinations of the People.

This Rebellion was no sooner suppress'd, but the Duke of *York* looking on it as a proper time to try the Strength of his Party, had himself recourse to Arms. His Pretensions were at first to redress public Grievances, and remove evil Counsellors, professing solemnly all Dutifulness and Obedience to the King upon the Throne.

The Duke of *Somerset* hereupon assembled a good Body of Troops, and advanced against the Duke of *York* towards the Borders of *Wales*; but *York* passed by him, and march'd up to *London*, expecting to be joined by the Citizens: But such Provisions had been made by the Ministry for the Security of that Metropolis, that he found himself disappointed, and was obliged to march into *Kent*. The King's Army following him thither, the Duke of *York* found himself not in a Condition to engage them, and kept upon the defensive; whereupon a Treaty was set on foot; the Duke of *York* was pardoned, and renewed his Oaths of Fidelity to the King in the most solemn manner. This happened in the 29th Year of *Henry VI.*

The Duke of *York* having continued pretty quiet for about three Years, thought fit to make another Attempt towards restoring his Family, and accordingly join'd with the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, and reviv'd the old Complaint of *Male-Administration and evil Counsellors*. Nor did he spare to reflect on the King's Weakness and Incapacity to govern, and to insinuate that the Times required an active Prince, and one who was capable of judging for himself.

The very
same Steps
Henry IV.
had taken to
exclude the
Family of
York.

Somerset,

Somerſet, the prime Miniſter, well knowing that next to the King he himſelf was principally ſtruck at, aſſembled an Army, and march'd with the King to meet their common Enemy as far as *St. Albans*, where the Duke of *York* gave the King Battel, and gain'd a ſignal Victory. The Duke of *Somerſet*, and ſeveral other Lords of the King's Party were kill'd in the Action, and the King himſelf was taken, but us'd with all the Reſpect due to a Crown'd Head.

A Parliament was ſoon after call'd, wherein the Duke of *Somerſet* was declared to be the Author of all the Blood that was ſpilt. The Duke of *York* was made Protector, *Salisbury* Lord Chancellor, and *Warwick* Governor of *Calais*: But the Queen's Party afterwards prevailing, the Duke of *York* was obliged to reſign the Protectorſhip, and the Earl of *Salisbury* the Seal; whereupon they retir'd from Court. The Queen apprehending ſhe ſhou'd never be ſafe while *York* and his Adherents were living, ſent Letters in the King's Name to the Duke of *York*, the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, to meet the King at *Coventry*, to conſult of the Affairs of the Kingdom, and they accordingly reſorted thither; but diſcovering that the Invitation was with a Deſign to cut them off, they immediately diſperſed, and fled for their Lives; the Duke of *York* into *Wales*, the Earl of *Salisbury* into the *North*, and *Warwick* to *Calais*.

Notwithſtanding this, all Parties were afterwards ſeemingly reconciled; but upon a Quarrel between the King's Servants and the Earl of *Warwick*, in the 37th Year of this Reign, the Civil Wars were reviv'd again. Mr. *Echard* ſays, the Queen being now ſenſible that either King *Henry* or the Duke of *York* muſt periſh, was very active in maintaining the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, and ſecuring the Succeſſion to her own Son Prince *Edward*, by ruining the
House

House of York, whose whole Building consisted of Lancastrian Beneficence. At other times Mr. Echard is very ready to acknowledge, that the whole Kingdom of Right belonged to the Duke of York. And if so, where was the mighty Beneficence that King Henry permitted him to enjoy a small Share of what was his own? It seems to me to be much the same Case with that of the Highwaymen in Sir Roger's Fables; who having robb'd an honest Man of a Bag of Money, and he petitioning them for Part of it again to carry him to the End of his Journey, they bad him put his Hand into the Bag and take what he would. The honest Man having their Leave, took as much as he could grasp. Whereupon one of the Rogues cried out, *Damn ye, have you no Conscience?* so unreasonable are some People thought for using a small Part of what is really their own. But to return: Several Battles having been fought with various Success, the Duke of York prevail'd so far, as to cause a Parliament to be summoned to meet at *Westminster* in *October* 1460, being the 39th of Henry VI. and then he exhibited his Claim to the Crown in the House of Lords; wherein he shew'd that he was descended from *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward* III. whereas King Henry descended from *John of Gaunt*, the fourth Son of *Edward* III.

Whereupon the Lords called to their Assistance the King's Council, and required them to consider of the Duke's Claim, and prepare such Objections to the Duke's Title as occur'd to them. And accordingly they drew up the following Objections.

1. They objected the Oaths that the Lords and the Duke had taken to King Henry as their Sovereign.

2. They

2. They objected the several Acts of Parliament made against the Title of the Duke of *York*, which they said were sufficient to defeat any Title.

3. They objected the several Entails of the Crown on the Heirs Males of *Henry IV.*

4. That the Duke bore the Arms of *Edmund of Langley*, the fifth Son of *Edward III.* and not of *Lionel* the third Son.

5. That when *Henry IV.* took upon him the Crown of *England*, he said he took it as right Inheritor to King *Henry III.* and not as Conqueror.

To which Articles the Duke answereth :

First, That no Oath, being the Law of Man, ought to be perform'd, when the same leadeth to the Suppression of Truth and Right, which is against the Law of God.

To the *Second* and *Third*, The seid *Richard Plantagenet* answereth and saith, that in trouth ther been noo such actes and tailles made by eny Parlement herebefore, as it is surmysed; but only in the 7th Year of King *Henry IV.* a certeyne Act and Ordinaunce was made in a Parlement by him called, wherein he made the Reaumes of *England* and *France*, among others, to be unto him, and to the Heires of his Body comyng, and to his iiij Sonnes, and the Heires of their Bodies comyng, in Maner and Forme as it appereth in the same Act. And if he myght have obteigned and rejoyced the seid Coronas, &c. by Title of Inheritaunce, Discent or Succession, he neither neded, nor wold have desired, or made them to be graunted to him in such wise, as they be by the seid Acte: The which taketh no Place, nother is of eny Force or Effect ayenst him, that is right Enheritor of the seid Coronas, as it accordeth with Godd's Lawe, and all natural Lawes; how it be that all other Actes and Ordinaunces

Ordinaunces made in the seid Parlement, and hath been good and sufficient ayenst all other Persones.

Item, Where it is thought that if the seid Duc shuld make any Title or Cleyme by the Line of Sir *Leonell*, he shuld bere the Armes of *Edmund Langley*, late Duc of *York*.

The seid Duc answereth and saith, that trowth is, he myght lawfully have borne the Armes of the seid Sir *Leonell* here bifore; and also the same Armes that King *Edward III.* bare, that is to say, the Armes of the Reaumes of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*: But he absteyned of beryng of the seid Armes, like as he absteyned for the Tyme of purposyng and pursuyng of his Right and Title, &c. for Causes not unknowen to all this Reaume; for though Right for a Tyme rest, and bee put to Silence, yet it roteth not, ner shall not perish.

Item, Where it is alleged ayenst the Title of the seid Duc, that the seid *Herry* of *Derby*, at such tyme as he toke uppon him the Corone of *Englond*, seid that he entred and toke the same Corone uppon him, as right Enheritour to King *Herry III.* and not as a Conquerour.

The seid Duc thereto saith, that such Saying of the seid King *Herry IV.* may in noo wise be true; and that the contrarie thereof, which is Trowth, shall be largely ynough shewed, approved and iustified by sufficient Auctorite, and Matier of Record. And over that, that his seid Saying was oonly to shadow and colour fraudulently his seid unrightwyse and violent Usurpation, and by that moyen to abuse deceyvably the People stonding about him.

Item, The *Saturday*, the xvijth Day of this present Parlement, it was shewed unto the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, being in this present Parlement, by the Mouth of the seid Chauncellor, that

the seid Duc of *York* called besily, to have hasty and speedy Aunswere of such Matiers as touched his Title aboveseid: And how that for as moche as it is thought by all the Lordes that the Title of the seid Duc cannot be defeted; and in eschewing of the grete Inconuenients that may ensue, a Meane was found to save the King's Honour and Astate, and to appease the seid Duc if he wold, which is this: That the King shall keep the Coronas, and his Astate and Dignity Roial, duryng his Lyfe, and the seid Duc and his Heires to succeede him in the same, exhorting and steriing all the seid Lordes, that if eny of them cowde finde eny other or better meane, that it might be shewed. Whereupon, after sad and ripe Communication in this Matier had, it was concluded and agreed by all the seid Lordes, that sith it was soo, that the Title of the seid Duc of *York* cannot be defeted, and in eschuing the grete Inconuenients that myght ensue, to take the Meane above reherfed; the othes that the seid Lordes had made unto the King's Highness at *Coventre* and other Places saved, and their Consciences therein clered. And over that, it was agreed by the seid Lordes, that the seid Meane shuld be opened and declared to the King's Highness: And forthwith they went towards the King, where he was in his Chambre, within his Palice of *Westminster*; and in their goyng out of the Parlement Chambre, the seid Chaunceller asked of the seid Lordes, that sith it was soo, that the seid Meane shuld be opened by his Mouth to the King's good Grace, yf they wold abide by him, howsoever that the King toke the Matier; and all they aunswered and said, yee.

All these Premisses thus shewed and opened to the King's Highness, he, inspired with the Grace of the Holy Goost, and in eschuying of Effusion of Christien Blode, by goode and sad Deliveration and Avyce,

The REIGN of

Avyce, had with all his Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx condescended to acord to be made betweene him and the seid Duc, and to be auctorized by thauctoryte of this present Parlement. The Tenour of which Accord hereafter ensueth in Maner and Forme following.

Blessed be Jesu! in whos Hand and Bountie resteth, and is the Peas and Unitee betwixt Princes, and the Wele of every Reaume; thurgh whos Disrection agreed it is, appointed, and accorded as followeth, betwixt the moost mighty Prynce King *Herry VI.* King of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, and Lorde of *Irelond*, on that oon Partie; and the right high and mighty Prince *Richard Plantagenet*, Duc of *York*, on that other Partie, upon certaine Matiers of Variaunce moeved betwixt them, and in especiall upon the Cleyne and Title unto the Coronas of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, and Roial Power, Estate and Dignite, apperteigning to the same, and Lordship of *Irelond*, opened, shewed, and declared by the seid Duc afore all the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx being in this present Parliament; the seid Agreement, Appointment and Accord, to be auctorized by the same Parlement.

First, Where the seid *Richard* Duc of *York* hath declared and opened, as above, his seid Title and Cleyne in manere as followeth: That the right noble and worthy Prince *Herry III.* King of *Englond*, had Issue and leefully gate *Edward* his first begotten Sonne, born at *Westminster* the 15 Kalends of *Juyll*, in the Vigill of *St. Marc* and *Marcellian*, the Yere of our Lorde 1239; and *Edmund* his secund Sonne, which was borne on *St. Marcell* Day, the Yere of our Lorde 1245. The which *Edward*, after the Deth of the seid King *Herry* his Fader, entituled and called King *Edward I.* had Issue *Edward* his first

first begotten Son, entitled and called, after the Deceſſe of the ſeid firſt *Edward* his Fader, King *Edward* the ſecund; which had Iſſue, and leefully gate the right Noble and Honourable Prynce *Edward* III. the true and undoubted King of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, and Lorde of *Irelond*; which *Edward* III. true and undoubted King of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, and Lorde of *Irelond*, had Iſſue, and leefully gate *Edward* his firſt begoten Sonne, Prince of *Wales*; *William Hatfield* ſecund begoten; *Lionell* third begoten, Duc of *Clarence*; *John* of *Gaunt* fourth begoten, Duc of *Lancaſter*; *Edmund Langley* fiſth gotten, Duc of *York*; *Thomas Wodeſtoke* ſixt gotten, Duc of *Glouceſter*; and *William Windſore* the ſeventh gotten. The ſeid *Edward*, Prynce of *Wales*, which dyed in the Lyfe of the ſeid *Edward* King, had Iſſue, and leefully gate *Richard*; the which ſucceeded the ſame *Edward* King, his Grauntfire, in Roial Dignite, entitled and called King *Richard* II. and dyed without Iſſue. *William Hatfield*, the ſecund gotten Sonne of the ſeid *Edward* King, dyed without Iſſue; *Leonell*, the third gotten Sonne of the ſame *Edward* King, Duc of *Clarence*, had Iſſue, and leefully gate *Phelippe* his only Daughter and Heir; which, by the Sacrament of Matrimonie copled unto *Edmund Mortymer* Erle of *Marche*, had Iſſue, and leefully bore *Roger Mortymer* Erle of *Marche*, his Sonne and Heire; which *Roger* Erle of *March* had Iſſue, and leefully gate *Edmund* Erle of *Marche*, *Roger Mortymer*, *Anne* and *Alianore*; which *Edmund*, *Roger*, and *Alianore*, dyed without Iſſue; and the ſeid *Anne*, under the Sacrament of Matrimonie copled unto *Richard* Erle of *Cambrigge*, the Sonne of the ſeid *Edmund Langley*, the fiſth gotten Sonne of the ſeid King *Edward*, as it is afore ſpecified, had Iſſue, and leefully bare *Richard Plantagenet*, commonly called Duc of *York*. The ſeid *John*

of *Gaunt*, the fourth gotten Sonne of the seid King *Edward*, and the younger Brother of the said *Leonell*, had Issue, and leefully gate *Henry* Erle of *Derby*; which Incontinent, after the time that the seid King *Richard* resigned the Coronas of the seid Reaumes, and the seid Lordship of *Ireland*, unrightwisely entred upon the same, then beyng on lyve *Edmund Mortymer* Erle of *Marche*, Sonne to *Roger Mortymer* Erle of *Marche*, Sonne and Heir of the seid *Phelippe*, Daughter and Heir of the seid Sir *Leonell*, the third Sonne of the seid King *Edward* III. to the which *Edmund* the Right and Title of the seid Coronas and Lordship by Lawe and Custome belonged.

To the which *Richard* Duc of *York*, as Sonne to *Anne*, Daughter to *Roger Mortymer* Erle of *Marche*, Sonne and Heir to the seid *Phelippe*, Daughter and Heir to the said *Leonell*, the third gotten Sonne of the seid King *Edward* III. the Right, Title, Dignitie Roial and Estate of the Coronas of the Reaumes of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, and of the Lordship and Lond of *Ireland*, of right Lawe and Custome aperteigneth and belongeth, afore eny Issue of the seid *John* of *Gaunt*, the fourth gotten Sonne of the seid King *Edward*.

The seid Title natheless [notwithstanding] and without Prejudice of the same, the seid *Richard* Duc of *York*, tenderly desireyng the Wele, Rest and Prosperite of this Lond, and to set apart all that that myght be Trouble to the same, and considering the Possession of the seid King *Herry* VI. and that he hath for his time be named, taken and reputed King of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, and Lorde of *Ireland*, is content, agreeth, and consenteth, that he be had, reputed and taken King of *Englond* and of *Fraunce*, with the Roial Estate, Dignite and Preeminence belonging therto, and Lord of *Ireland*,
during

during his Lyfe natural; and for that the feid Duc, without Hurt or Prejudice of his feid Right and Title, shall take Worship, and honour him for his Soveraine Lord.

Item, It is accorded, appointed, and agreed, that the feid *Richard* Duc of *York* rejoyse be entitled, called and reputed from hens forth verrey and rightfull Heire to the Coronas, Roial Estate, Dignite and Lordship abovesaid; and after the Deceffe of the feid King *Herry*, or when he woll ley from him the feid Coronas, Estate, Dignite and Lordship, the feid Duc and his Heires shall immediately succeed to the feid Coronas, Roial Estate, Dignite and Lordship.

Item, For the more establiſhing the feid Accord, it is appointed and consented, that the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, being in this present Parliament, shall make Oothes to accepte, take, worship and repute the feid *Richard*, Duc of *York*, and his feid Heires, as above is reherced; and kepe, observe and strengthen, in as much as apperteigneth unto them, all the things abovesaid, and resist to their Power all them that wull presume the contrary, according to their Estates and Degrees.

The King understanding certainly the feid Title of the feid *Richard*, Duc of *York*, just, lawful, true and sufficient, by thavis and assent of the Lordes Spirituelx and Temporelx, and Commens in this present Parlement assembled, and by Auctorite of the same Parlement, declareth, approveth and ratifieth, confermeth and accepteth the feid Title, just, good, lawful and true; and therunto yeveth his Assent and Agreement of his free Will and Libertie: And over that, by the feid Avis and Auctorite, declareth, entitled, calleth, establiſheth, affirmeth and reputeth the feid *Richard*, Duc of *York*, verrey true and rightful Heire to the Coronas,

Royal Astate and Dignitie of the Reaumes of *England* and of *Fraunce*, and of the Lordship of *Ireland* aforeseid; and that according to the Wurship and Reverence that therto belongeth, he be taken, accepted and reputed, in Wurship and Reverence, by all the States of the seid Reaume of *England*, and of all his Subjetts thereof; saving and ordeigning by the same Auctorite, the King to have the seid Coronas, Reaumes, Roial Estate, Dignite and Pre-eminence of the same, and the seid Lordship of *Ireland*, duryng his Lyfe natural. And fethermore, by the same Avis and Auctorite, wolle consenteth and agreeth, that after his Decesse, or when it shall please his Highness to ley from the seid Coronas, Estate, Dignite and Lordship, or thereof cesseth; the seid *Richard*, Duc of *York*, and his Heires, shall ymmEDIATELY succeed him in the seid Coronas, Roial Estate, Dignite and Lordship, and them then have and joy; any Act of Parlement, Statute, Ordynauce or other thing to the contrarie made, or Interruption, or Dyscontinuance of Possession notwithstanding. And moreover, by the seid Avis and Auctorite, stablisheth, graunteth, confermeth, approveth, ratifieth and accepteth the seid Accord, and all things therein conteyned; and thereunto freely and absolutely assenteth and agreeth.

The Queen and her Party refusing to submit to this Accommodation, had recourse to Arms again, and had the good Fortune to defeat the Duke of *York* at *Wakefield*, the Duke himself, and his Son the Earl of *Rutland*, being killed in the Field, and the Earl of *Salisbury* taken Prisoner and beheaded.

The End of
the Reign of
Henry VI.

But the Earl of *March*, eldest Son of the Duke of *York*, afterwards prevailing against the Queen's Forces, march'd up to *London*, and was there proclaimed

claimed King on the 4th of *March* 1461, being the 39th Year of *Henry* VI.

From this Review of his Reign, the Character of this Prince, as a Governor or supreme Magistrate, appears extremely mean and low ; for I don't perceive he was directed by his own Judgment in the Performance of any one regal Act. During his Minority, indeed, there was some Excuse for him ; but he no sooner came of Age and married, but the Queen and her Favourites had the entire Management of him and of the State.

As a private Person, we are told, he was the most inoffensive Man alive, and spent great part of his time in Acts of Piety and Devotion, not much concerning himself about his Condition in the World. And had this been the Result of long Experience, and proceeded from a Contempt of the glittering Trifles, the formal State, the constrain'd and hypocritical Behaviour, that seems so necessary in Courts to awe the Vulgar into a Submission and Reverence for their Authority ; had his Retirement from Affairs of State proceeded from a just Detestation of all those impious Arts practis'd by Statesmen, to gain the Ascendant, and tyrannize over the rest of Mankind, his Conduct might have met with some Admirers. But if it was the Effect of a careless indolent Temper, which of all others is most unbecoming a Prince, and destructive to himself and his Subjects, his Misfortunes then were not altogether unmerited.





E D W A R D IV.

14⁶⁰/₁.His Title to
the Crown.

EDWARD IV. the eldest surviving Son of *Richard Duke of York*, being about twenty Years of Age, was declar'd King the fourth of *March* 1461, as is related in the last Reign, and was crown'd the 29th of *June* 1461. His Father claim'd the Crown in Parliament, as descended from *Lionel Duke of Clarence*, the third Son of *Edward III.* whereas *Henry VI.* descended from *John of Gaunt*, the fourth Son of *Edward III.* And this Claim of the Duke's was admitted to be good in Parliament. But since King *Henry* had been in the Possession of the Crown for thirty eight Years, it was agreed that he should enjoy it during his Life; and that the Duke of *York* and his Heirs should succeed him: and that the Duke should in the mean time be Protector of the Kingdom. And in case of any Violation of this Agreement on the Part of King *Henry*, the House of *York* was to succeed immediately. The Queen having rais'd Forces against the Duke of *York*, in order to vacate this Agreement, and secure the Succession of the Crown to her Son, *Edward IV.* claim'd the immediate Possession of the Crown, and was proclaim'd King, as is before related.

His Marriage
and Issue.

In the Year 1465 King *Edward* married the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, the Widow of Sir *John Grey of Groby*, and Daughter of Sir *Richard Woodville Kt.* afterwards Earl of *Rivers*. He had Issue by her three Sons, viz.

3

1. *Edward*

1. *Edward of York* his eldest Son, who succeeded his Father by the Name of *Edward V.* 2. *Richard of York*, afterwards murder'd, with his elder Brother, by their Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester*; 3. *George of York*; who died a Child. He had also by the same Queen seven Daughters, viz. 1. *Elizabeth of York* his eldest Daughter, married to *Henry VII.* 2. *Cicely of York*, afterwards married to *John Lord Welles*; 3. *Anne of York*, married to *Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk*; 4. *Bridget of York*, who became a Nun at *Deptford in Kent*; 5. *Mary of York*, who died unmarried; 6. *Margaret of York*, who died in her Infancy; 7. *Catherine of York*, married to *William Courtney Earl of Devon.*

King *Edward IV.* died at *Westminster*, on the 9th of *April*, in the 42d Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign, *A. D. 1483.* His Age and Death.

Comines says he was the goodliest Gentleman that ever his Eyes beheld, tall of Stature, fair of Complexion, and of a most noble Presence, yet too much inclining to fat in his latter Days. And our Author adds, that the Gifts of his Mind seem'd to strive for Priority with those of his Body, having a most courageous Heart and a magnanimous Disposition, being politick in Council, witty in Conversation, and in Adversity undaunted. In Battel he was bold and adventurous, being present in nine several Engagements, in which, to his great Renown, he always fought on foot, and was ever victorious. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious; and to gain his Ends, no Man was Master of more insinuating Methods than himself. In the midst of all his shining Qualifications, he could set no Bounds to his Lust or his Ambition, in both of which he was remarkably punished. As to the former, it was observ'd, that never Man was fram'd by Nature more apt to the Exercise of it, and whom amorous

rous Courtship did less misbecome. Yet this Sin, tho' black in the Eye of Heaven, by Politicians is too often excus'd in a Prince, as not generally injurious to his Subjects. But notwithstanding that Opinion, besides the fatal Example, if we observe the Revolution of Kingdoms, we find no Iniquity in Princes so commonly punished. The Dishonour of one Lady abus'd, often causes the Disgrace of several Families, and mighty Factions joining for Revenge; for no Injuries like these are so cruel to human Nature, and with so little Patience dissolved. For this King *Edward* was peculiarly punish'd in his Sons, who were both depriv'd of all things by their unnatural Uncle. And there was so much Appearance of Right in that Usurper, by their Father's Incontinency, that even an Act of Parliament was made to bastardize them both. As to his Ambition, tho' according to the exact Rules of Lineal Succession he had the nearest Right to the Crown; yet considering the innumerable Perjuries, Treasons, Bloodsheds, and other Calamities, that brought him and secur'd him in the Throne, his and his Father's Actions were less justifiable than those of many real Usurpers. And all those Victories he obtain'd were against his own Nation; and his greatest Adversaries were in Consanguinity with him; so that he may more properly be said to have let himself Blood than his Enemies; or rather, for the Preservation of his own Body, to have cut off his principal and most necessary Limbs. The Hand of Heaven lay heavy upon his Generation; and notwithstanding all his Success, he was descended from a most unfortunate Family, he being the only Male of all his House, except a Child of *Richard III.* that died a natural Death after it claim'd the Crown, His Grandfather the Earl of *Cambridge* was beheaded at *Southampton*; the Duke of *York* his
 Father

Father slain before *Sandall*: Of his three Brothers, the Earl of *Rutland* was slain in cold Blood; the Duke of *Clarence* drown'd in a Butt of *Malmesey*; and the Duke of *Gloucester*, after he had strangled his Nephews, lost his Kingdom and Life in Battel. So that we meet with no Tragedy, whether true or fabulous, where we find so many various and cruel Deaths.

In this Reign flourished several Men eminent for Arts and Learning, as well as Valour; as *Thomas Littleton*, a famous Judge of the *Common-Pleas*, who brought a great Part of the Law into Method, which before was confusedly dispers'd; *John Fortescue*, a Judge and Chancellor of *England*, who was famous for understanding the Laws and Constitution of *England*; *John Harding* and *William Caxton*, both Writers of the *English* History; *Scogan*, a learned Gentleman and a Student of *Oxford*, who, for his pleasant Wit and jocular Conceits, was call'd to Court. And that which now began to give new Encouragement to Learning, was the famous Art of Printing, which was first found out in *Germany* by *John Guttenburgen*, about the Year 1440, or somewhat later; and was brought into *England* by *William Caxton*, a Mercer of *London*, and probably the same with the Historian, who first practis'd it in the Abby of *Westminster*, *Anno Dom.* 1471, and the eleventh of this Reign.

Judge Littleton flourish'd in this Reign.

Printing first brought into *England*.

King *Edward* had no sooner possess'd himself of the regal Power, but he was in danger of being driven from his Throne. The late King *Henry*, the Queen, the Duke of *Somerset*, and the Lords of that Party, having rais'd an Army in the *North* of 60000 Men, to dispute his Title. King *Edward* immediately march'd against them, and on *Palm-Sunday*, being the 29th of *March*, 1461, he obtain'd a signal Victory over them at *Towton* in *Yorkshire*.

A Review of the Reign of *Edward IV.*

In this Action, 'tis said, no less than 36000 Men were killed on both Sides; and King *Henry*, his Queen, and Son, were forced to take Refuge in *Scotland*, from whence the Queen and her Son afterwards embark'd for *France*, to solicit Aid from the *French King*.

On the fourth of *November* King *Edward* held a Parliament at *Westminster*, where the Proceedings against *Richard II.* were repealed and made void; and King *Henry IV.* was declared to have usurped and intruded upon the royal Power, Estate, and Dignity; and contrary to the Laws of God and Man, and his own Oath of Fidelity, to have barbarously tortur'd and murder'd his said Sovereign Lord, King *Richard II.*

They declar'd further, that King *Edward IV.* was rightful and lawful King from the time of his Father's Death; and that the three *Henrys* held the Crown by Intrusion and Usurpation, and no otherwise.

That the Amotion of *Henry VI.* from the *Exercise, Occupation, Usurpation, Intrusion, Reign, and Government* of the Realm by *Edward IV.* was rightful and lawful; and that the Grants made by the three *Henrys*, or by their pretenc'd Parliaments, were void, except such as by this Parliament were confirm'd.

And in this Parliament an Act of Attainder pass'd against the Earl of *Oxford*, *Aubery de Vere* his Son, and others, taken in Rebellion; and they were afterwards beheaded.

Two Years afterwards, viz. in the Year 1463, King *Henry* and his Queen, assisted by the *Scots*, made another Attempt to regain their Throne; and were join'd by the Duke of *Somerset* and Sir *Ralph Piercy*, who had but just before submitted to King *Edward*, and had their Estates restor'd them. Against these King *Edward* marched without delay

as far as *York*; and having detach'd Viscount *Montague*, with a Body of his Troops, to discover the Enemy's Strength, *Montague* fell in with King *Henry's* Army at *Hexham*, and entirely routed them; and the Duke of *Somerset*, Sir *Ralph Grey*, and others, being made Prisoners, who had formerly been in Arms against King *Edward*, and pardon'd, were now executed. King *Henry* being a little afterwards taken in Disguise, was carried to *London*, with his Legs tied to his Horse's Stirrups, and committed to the Tower.

King *Edward* being now at Peace, employ'd his time in the Reformation of such Abuses as had crept into the Administration during the War. He sat himself in the Courts at *Westminster* to see Justice duly administred. He restrained the Extortions of his Officers in the Exchequer, made sumptuary Laws against Excess of Apparel, and granted a general Pardon.

In order to strengthen himself by a foreign Alliance, he was advis'd to marry the Lady *Bona*, Sister to the Queen of *France*; and the Earl of *Warwick* was sent Ambassador to *France*, to propose the Match. But in the mean time, it seems, the King was so smitten with the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, Widow of Sir *John Grey* of *Groby*, that without waiting the Event of the Earl of *Warwick's* Negotiation, he married her; which so provok'd the Earl, that 'tis said from that time he meditated how to deprive him of his Crown, which he had been so considerable a Means of advancing him to.

In the Year 1467 King *Edward* married his Sister, the Lady *Margaret*, to the Son of the Duke of *Burgundy*, by which he gain'd a very useful Ally, who afterwards assisted him to regain his Throne, when he was driven from it. The next Year the Earl of *Warwick*, with his Brothers the Archbishop
of

of *York* and the Marquess of *Montague*, enter'd into a Conspiracy to depose King *Edward*, and drew over to their Party the King's Brother, the Duke of *Clarence*.

In the Year 1469 they broke out into open Rebellion; and the King made the Earl of *Pembroke* his General, who engaged them at *Danefmore* near *Banbury*; where the King's Forces were routed, the Earl of *Pembroke*, and his Brother Sir *Richard Herbert*, were made Prisoners, and afterwards beheaded. The Earl of *Rivers* also, the Queen's Father, and his Son *John*, were afterwards taken and beheaded in cold Blood. A Treaty being then propos'd by the great Men of both Sides, to accommodate Matters between the King and the Earl of *Warwick*, during the Negotiation, the Earl surpriz'd the King in his Camp, and took him Prisoner; but committing him to the Care of his Brother the Archbishop of *York*, the King found means to make his Escape and come to *London*. And the next Year the King's Forces engag'd the Earl's with better Success, and routed them near *Stamford*; whereupon the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* fled to *France*.

The *French* King supplying them with Men and Money, they embark'd again for *England*; and landing at *Dartmouth*, they were join'd by such Numbers, that King *Edward* was compell'd to fly the Kingdom in his turn, and beg the Assistance of his Brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, to restore his Affairs. Whereupon *Warwick* came to *London*, and having called a Parliament, *Henry* was again recogniz'd King; King *Edward* was attainted, all his Acts repeal'd, and the Crown settled upon King *Henry* and his Issue; and in Default of such Issue, on the Duke of *Clarence* and the Heirs of his Body. The Earl of *Worcester*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, was beheaded,

headed, and the Duke of *Clarence* and the Earl of *Warwick* made Governors of the Kingdom of *England*.

King *Edward* being provided with a small Supply of Ships, Men and Money, by the Duke of *Burgundy*, landed at *Ravenspur* in *Yorkshire*; and not meeting with any great Encouragement at first, he pretended he was only come to recover his Father's Inheritance: And 'tis said he took his Oath at *York* to be faithful to King *Henry*; but afterwards the People flowing unto him, he causes himself to be proclaim'd King at *Nottingham*; and the Duke of *Clarence* deserting *Warwick* and joining him, he march'd up to *London*, and again imprison'd King *Henry*. This happen'd the 11th of *April*, 1471, in the eleventh Year of King *Edward*'s Reign, about six Months after his leaving the Kingdom.

The Earl of *Warwick* followed King *Edward* to *London*; and engaging the King's Army near *Barnet*, the 14th of *April*, the Earl was routed, and himself and his Brother the Marquess of *Montague*, kill'd in the Action.

Much about the same time King *Henry*'s Queen *Margaret* landed at *Weymouth*; and being join'd by the Duke of *Somerset* and the Earl of *Devonshire*, she gave the King Battel near *Tewksbury*, the 4th of *May*, 1471; in which Engagement the Queen's Forces were routed, the Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, and several other Lords of that Party, were kill'd; and Prince *Edward*, the Son of King *Henry*, being taken, 'tis said, was murder'd in King *Edward*'s Prefence. Queen *Margaret* also was made Prisoner, till she was ransom'd by her Father *Reynar*; and old King *Henry* was murder'd by the Duke of *Gloucester* in the *Tower*; the Archbishop of *York* was made Prisoner, and his Estate confiscated.

King

King *Edward* having thus conquer'd and dispers'd his domestick Enemies, in the Year 1473 he held a Parliament, where he repealed all the Acts made by *Henry VI.* after his Re-adeption, and resettled the Succession in his own Family.

The Duke of *Burgundy*, the King's Brother and Ally, about this time desiring his Assistance against *France*, the King took an uncommon Method of raising Money by way of Benevolence; that is, he got a List of all that were able to furnish him with Money, and then apply'd himself to every one of them in particular, to see what he would advance; and by this means he rais'd a Sum sufficient for his Purpose. And in the Year 1470, he invaded *France* with a very great Army; but the Duke of *Burgundy* failing to join him with the Troops he had promis'd, King *Edward* clapt up a Peace with the *French King*; who thereupon granted him an annual Tribute, and gave large Presents among his Ministers; and King *Edward* returned to *England* without performing any hostile Acts.

King *Edward* still remain'd apprehensive of the Earl of *Richmond*, a Branch of the House of *Lancaster*, who was now in *Bretaigne*. He foresaw this young Nobleman, one time or other, might give him, or his Successors, some Disturbance; and therefore us'd all means to get him into his Power; and at length prevail'd with the Duke of *Bretaigne* to send him over. But while he remain'd at *St. Malo's* waiting for a Wind, the Earl made his Escape from the Persons King *Edward* had sent over to receive him; and he afterwards came to be King of *England* by the Name of *Henry VII.*

King *Edward* now enjoying a profound Peace, is said to live with greater Hospitality than any of the Kings of *England* before him, to entertain the People with Shews, Jest, and Tournaments; and to descend

scend to converse freely with his Subjects of any Rank: That he would invite the Citizens to hunt with him, treat them, and make Presents to their Wives, with whom he never disdain'd to be familiar. 'Tis said he kept three Wenches, one of whom he us'd to say was the merriest, another the wisest, and the third the holiest Harlot in the Kingdom, who could never be got out of a Church but to his Bed. His merry Girl, it seems, was *Jane Shore*, a Citizen's Wife.

In the eighteenth Year of his Reign his Brother the Duke of *Clarence* was charg'd in Parliament with treasonable Designs, and convicted, and afterwards beheaded; which is imputed very much to the Queen, who was jealous of his ambitious Temper, and afraid he might one Day deprive her Son of the Crown: But whether her Fears were just or not, her Sons fell into as bad Hands afterwards; and possibly she might, by this Prosecution, contribute to their Ruin, which she was endeavouring to avoid.

It seems King *Edward* soon repented the destroying of his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, and never after retain'd that good Humour and affable Temper he was before so remarkable for; but grew morose and austere, and became more fear'd than lov'd. He endeavour'd to have married his Daughter *Elizabeth* to the Dauphin of *France*, and his Daughter *Cecily* to the Prince of *Scotland*; but he was deceiv'd in both: Of the *Scots* he took a severe Revenge; and was preparing to procure Satisfaction of *France* for their Double-dealing with him, when he fell sick and died; but he had the good Fortune to leave his People in profound Peace both at home and abroad.

The

Reflections
on the Reign
and Character
of Ed. IV.

The Spirit and Conduct of this Prince, when he first appear'd upon the Stage, is inimitable. He was not twenty Years of Age, when he heard of his Father's Death, and the Defeat of his Army at *Wakefield*; which was so far from discouraging his Attempts to maintain his Title to the Crown, that in less than two Months we find he obtain'd a signal Victory over King *Henry's* General, the Earl of *Pembroke*, at *Mortimer's-Cross*. And notwithstanding he was afterwards advis'd, that his great Friend and Support, the Earl of *Warwick*, was routed at *St. Albans*, he continu'd a resolute March to *London*, dispers'd the Enemy's Troops, and by his Address, prevail'd upon the City immediately to proclaim him King. And before he had been a Month in the Possession of the Regal Power, we see him in *Yorkshire* engaging an Army of sixty thousand Men, where he obtain'd a most compleat and decisive Victory over his Competitor King *Henry*, and oblig'd him to retire into *Scotland*.

And when his General, the popular Earl of *Warwick*, enter'd into a Conspiracy against him, and his own Brother the Duke of *Clarence* deserted him, and they had so poison'd the People as to occasion a general Revolt, we see him wisely give way to a Torrent which was not then to be resisted; and when it had spent itself, and the Nation was undeceiv'd, he return'd in a few Months to his Throne with as great Triumph and Applause as he first mounted it; and this not by the help of foreign Troops, but by the Assistance of those very Subjects who had been so lately abus'd into a Belief of his Male-Administration, and contributed so much to the driving him out of the Kingdom. And to demonstrate how much they had been deceiv'd in the Reports of his Misgovernment, he was no sooner settled in Peace, than we find him enacting

profitable

profitable Laws, regulating the Courts of Justice, restraining the Extortions of his Officers, and familiarly entertaining and conversing with his Subjects of all Ranks, that he might not be impos'd on by his Ministers, or remain a Stranger to the Grievances of any of his People.

As for the frequent Executions of the Nobility in cold Blood, they are not to be defended; tho' some of them possibly may be extenuated by the Provocations he met with, and the like Practices of the other Party. His Father's Body, after the Battel of *Wakefield*, was cut in pieces, and mangled, and his Head, after it had been mock'd with a paper Diadem, set upon one of the Gates of *York*; his Brother the Earl of *Rutland*, a Lad of twelve Years old, while upon his Knees begging for Mercy, was stabb'd to the Heart by the Lord *Clifford*; the Earl of *Rivers*, Father to his Queen, with one of her Brothers, were murder'd in cold Blood, without any Process or Form of Law. It may be consider'd further, that hardly any of the Noblemen that were executed by King *Edward* but were taken in actual Rebellion against him, some of them a second time, and that after they had been pardon'd and restor'd to their Honours and Estates.

These Considerations will very much mitigate the Charge of Cruelty in some Instances. But as to his suffering young Prince *Edward*, the Son of *Henry VI.* and the harmless old King himself, to be murder'd by his Brother *Gloucester*, if the Facts be true, I have very little to offer in his Behalf; for he that does not prevent an ill Act, when it is in his Power, does in reality approve and command it. I do not think even his being driven from his Throne a sufficient Reason to justify such Facts, how necessary soever his Ministers might imagine such Cruelties to be to secure his Government, any

more than I can approve that over provident Policy of the Queen, in taking off his Brother the Duke of *Clarence*, to secure the Succession to her Children; and we see, however the King might be surpriz'd into it, by the Instigation of his Queen, and the Management of his Brother *Gloucester*, he heartily lamented it when it was too late, and his Posterity felt the Effects of it.

One thing however is observ'd of this King's merciful Disposition, that notwithstanding the several Attempts made by King *Henry's* Friends, and the many bloody Battels that have been fought to restore him, yet King *Edward* never sent him to any obscure Prison, or suffer'd any Attempts against his Life, for near twelve Years together; and not till he himself had been driven out of the Kingdom by King *Henry's* Adherents; which is more than can be said on the deposing of any King before or since, tho' Policy and Reason of State seem'd to require it in this Case as much as in any other: From whence it appears, that this Prince was not naturally cruel; and that he had never permitted King *Henry's* Life to be taken away, but upon an Apprehension of the Necessity of such a Proceeding, to save himself and his Family.

He is also charg'd with Hypocrisy and Double-dealing, when he came over to *England* to recover his Crown; because he gave out that he only came to recover his Father's Inheritance: But it has been observ'd, this might relate either to his private Estate, or the Kingdom in general; and then there is no great Matter in it. But if he did really swear at *York* to be faithful to King *Henry*, as our Histories relate, no doubt he went too far; and his executing the Lord *Wells*, and some others, to whom he had given his Faith, deserves the severest Animadversion. This might be one of those Crimes

which

which brought down the Vengeance of Heaven upon his Posterity: But it has been observ'd, that *Henry IV.* who had a much worse Title to the Crown, took the very same Steps, and yet is not so severely handled by our Historians; nay, he seems, notwithstanding, to be numbred among our best Princes. And this probably proceeds from that apparent Partiality in our Writers towards those Princes who had the least Appearance of Right; for they frequently insinuate, that Conquest, Usurpation, Election, or any other way of attaining the Crown, is preferable to a Title by Descent. They entertain a Fondness for those Princes who have the weakest Titles, and are strangely prejudic'd against rightful and lawful Kings, and never fail to bear very hard upon their Memories.

There is another heavy Charge our Historians bring against this Prince; and that is his Incontinence, which they say was follow'd by such Judgments, as one would think all other Crimes were compriz'd in it. I shall not take upon me to deny the Facts, or defend the Practice: *King Edward*, no doubt, was a Man addicted to Vice like other Mortals; and whether, upon taking a View of his whole Life, we are to denominate him a good or ill Man, as a private Person, I shall not determine. However, from Facts admitted on all Hands, he seems tolerably well qualify'd for a Prince; for 'tis said he wanted neither Courage, Sense, Temper, or Humanity; that in Prosperity he was not elated, or dejected in Adversity; that he was liberal, courteous, and affable; that in his Wars he commanded in Person, and in Peace apply'd himself with all Diligence to Affairs of State; that when he died, he left the Nation in a most settled flourishing Condition, and without either foreign or domestick Enemies: And surely it requir'd no mean Address,

to quiet and compose Men's Minds, that had been so thoroughly irritated and inflamed against one another by those cruel Contests in the Beginning of his Reign. And lastly, we are assured he was extremely afflicted for the Blood he had spilt in fixing himself on the Throne; and that he made a most pious and commendable Exit. From the whole therefore, we may venture to place him among the best and greatest of our Kings.



EDWARD V.

1483.
His Title.



EDWARD V. eldest Son of *Edward IV.* by *Elizabeth* his Wife, succeeded his Father in the Throne, being then in the thirteenth Year of his Age. To this Prince's Title no Objection was ever made by any but his Uncle the Duke of *Gloucester*, who usurp'd his Throne; of which I shall take notice in my Review of this Reign. King *Edward* had neither Wife nor Issue, being depos'd and murder'd the same Year he came to the Crown, when he was so very young, and had appear'd so little in the World, that our Historians do not pretend to give any Character of him.

Review of
his Reign.

As he was proclaim'd, and all publick Acts and Proceedings ran in his Name for about two Months, he remains in the List of our Kings; tho' this Space might well have been thrown into the Reign of King *Richard*, who in fact was possess'd of the regal Power from the Time of his Brother King *Edward's* Death.

The

The Queen, to secure her eldest Son Prince *Edward*, who was at *Ludlow* in *Shropshire* at his Father's Death, had placed about him the Earl of *Rivers*, her Brother, and many others of her own Relations, for whom she had obtain'd Places of Honour and Profit under the late King. But these Measures, which she had taken for the Security of her Family, the crafty Duke of *Gloucester* turn'd to their Destruction, insinuating to the ancient Nobility, that they were neglected, and that those Upstarts, the Queen's Relations, ingross'd all Places, and would in time over-shadow them, unless the King were taken out of their Hands. And when the Earl of *Rivers* had taken such Precautions, and so augmented his Troops, that they found it would be very difficult to get the King into their Power by Force, they wheedled the Queen into an Opinion, that it would be for the King's Honour and Interest to dismiss his Guards, and procur'd a Letter from her to the Earl of *Rivers* for that Purpose: Which was no sooner comply'd with, but the Duke of *Gloucester* caus'd the Earl, and some others whom he most dreaded, to be arrested, and sent Prisoners to *Pontefract-Castle*; and brought the young King to *London*, with all outward Marks of Respect and Duty.

The Queen finding herself over-reach'd and betray'd, fled to the Sanctuary at *Westminster*, with her other Son, *Richard*, and her five Daughters. *Gloucester* knowing he should never be able to effect his Designs, unless he could get his other Nephew into his Power, made use of all his Friends, and all his Arts, to induce the Queen to deliver him up. And when he found she remain'd unmov'd, and all his subtle Arguments were ineffectual, he had Recourse to Threats, and gave her to understand, if she would not part with him fairly, he would take him by Force; and the Queen not doubting but he

wou'd make good his Word, seem'd to consent to trust him with her Son *Richard*: And having recommended him to the Care of the Archbishop of *York*, and the other Lords that attended her on this Occasion, in the most moving manner, and taken leave of him with all the Passion a Woman could express, who knew her Sons expos'd to the extreamest Hazards, she sent him to his unnatural Uncle.

Still there remained in his Way the Lord *Hastings*, Lord-Chamberlain, a powerful and popular Nobleman, who retain'd an inviolable Affection to the late King's Children; and tho' he had readily concurr'd in all Measures for depressing and cutting off the Queen's Relations, wou'd with all his Might have oppos'd the setting aside King *Edward's* Issue. The Protector therefore took an Opportunity to charge him in Council with High-Treason, in conspiring against the Government, which he pretended was that very instant to be put in Execution, and nothing but the immediate Death of this Lord could prevent; and therefore commanded him to be beheaded that very Morning, which it seems was the same Day that the Earl of *Rivers*, and some others of the Queen's Relations were executed at *Pontefract*, whose Death the Lord *Hastings* had advis'd and consented to, and whose Ruin is therefore look'd upon as a remarkable Instance of divine Vengeance. The Protector also proceeded to seize *Jane Shore*, whom the Lord *Hastings* had taken to his Bed after King *Edward's* Death. The Protector gave out, that she was in the Conspiracy, and seiz'd her Effects; but nothing more than Incontinence being prov'd against her, she had no other Punishment inflicted on her than a publick Penance, and the Loss of her Estate.

This Harlot, it seems, was a very fine Woman, and, contrary to the usual Custom of those Animals,

mals, employ'd her Interest in the King for the Benefit of his Subjects. She disdain'd the Character of a mercenary Whore, and to extort or even accept a Bribe from any Man, as has been too general a Practice of Courtiers, Male and Female, who have enjoy'd their Prince's Ear in some later Reigns.

The Protector's next Step was to proclaim his own Mother an Adulteress, and that his Brothers, King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence*, were spurious, and himself the only legitimate Son of *Richard* Duke of *York*. He proceeded also to bastardize King *Edward's* Issue, by pretending he was contracted to another before he married the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*: And this he prevail'd upon some popular temporising Priests to insist on in their Sermons.

The Lord-Mayor of *London* also came into the Protector's Measures; and a Common-Council being assembled, the Duke of *Buckingham* harangu'd the Citizens, setting forth the Protector's Title and Character with all the Eloquence he was Master of; which tho' we are told did not much move the substantial Citizens, the Mob however cry'd out, King *Richard*, King *Richard*; and the next Day the Duke of *Bucks*, with several other Noblemen, and the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, waited on the Protector, and made him an Offer of the Crown; which he with much seeming Reluctancy at length accepted, and made them a canting Speech, concluding, *That he desired of God to live no longer than he should study to procure their Welfare*. At which the People gave a great Shout, crying out, God save King *Richard*. And this is accounted the last Day of the Reign of King *Edward V.* being the 18th of *June* 1483. Of this young Prince we meet with no Facts in our Writers to collect a Character from: I am apt to believe his natural Endowments were tolerable; because I don't find them once reflected on by the Usurper.

The End of
King *Edw. V.*
his Reign.

Reflections
on the Reign
of *Edw. V.*

But upon a Review of the Transactions in this Reign, what Character, what Opinion must we entertain of the People?

As to the Nobility, one Part of them adhered to the Queen; the other much the most considerable, fell in with the Duke of *Gloucester*, not out of any Affection to him, or any Opinion of his Title, but to gratify their Revenge on the Queen's Relations and Favourites; which when they had effected, and served their own and the Protector's Purposes in this Article, some of them were destroy'd by that very Man whom they had contributed to aggrandize, because they would go no greater Lengths. And this is very frequently, if not always, the Case in every Revolution. It is of dangerous Consequence to be wicked but by halves: Some specious popular Pretences are ever laid hold on by the Usurper, to bring the People into the Enterprize; but few, very few, are acquainted with the whole Scheme. He proceeds by certain Steps. This Set of Men he proposes will go so far with him; and if they assist him to gain that Point, he knows he shall be in a Capacity to proceed a Step further without their Concurrence. Nay, he often finds Circumstances so extremely favourable, that he advances even beyond what he himself at first propos'd. The greatest Villain upon Earth can hardly imagine human Nature to be so much deprav'd as in reality it is: Even King *Richard* cou'd never have the Confidence to believe that the whole Kingdom, the Nobility, Clergy, and Commons, could ever have come into those vile Measures we see they did.

Can we think there was one Man of Sense in the Nation, that believ'd that King *Edward* and the Duke of *Clarence* were Bastards, and *Gloucester* the only legitimate Issue of his Father; and that *Edward V.* his Brother and Sisters were all spurious? And un-

less

less every Tittle of this was true, the Duke of *Gloucester* could have no manner of Pretence to the Crown.

And yet we see all Orders and Degrees of Men approving or submitting to his Claim. That Argument of *Convenience*, and securing our selves and Families from *present Danger*, carries more Weight in it than all the Right and Justice in the World. And let an Usurper make the People believe that there is both Interest and Security in adhering to him, and he may defy all the Titles upon Earth; they may find themselves afterwards deceiv'd in their Expectations (as they commonly do); but let the Delusion last till he has establish'd himself, and he will laugh at their Credulity.



RICHARD III.



RICHARD III. the eighth and youngest Son of *Richard Duke of York*, by his Duchess *Cicely Nevile*, usurp'd the Throne in the manner related in the last Reign;

1483.
His Pretensions to the Crown.

though he pretended the Crown legally descended to him, as the only legitimate Issue of his Father. He was crown'd at *Westminster* the 5th of July 1483.

Upon what Grounds the Parliament went, when they settled the Crown upon King *Richard III.* and his Issue, is best understood by the Roll of the Parliament, held on *Friday* the 23d Day of *January*, in the first Year of this King. Where it is recited,

*Rot. Parlm.
1. Rich. III.*

The Crown
settled on
King Rich.
III. by Par-
liament.

“ That the Marriage between King *Edward IV.* and
“ the Lady *Elizabeth Grey*, was made of great Pre-
“ sumption, without the Knowing and Assent of the
“ Lords of this Land, and also by Sorcery and
“ Witchcraft committed by the said *Elizabeth*, and
“ her Mother *Jacquet* Duchess of *Bedford*, as the
“ common Opinion of the People, and the Publick
“ Voice and Fame is throughout all this Land; and
“ hereafter, if the Cause shall require, shall be prov-
“ ed sufficiently in time and place convenient.
“ And here also we consider, how that the said pre-
“ tended Marriage was made privily and secretly,
“ without Edition of Banes, in a private Chamber,
“ a prophane Place, and not openly in the Face of
“ the Church, after the Law of God’s Church;
“ but contrary thereunto, and the laudable Cust-
“ tom of the Church of *England*: And how also at
“ the time of the Contract of the same pretended
“ Marriage, and before, and long time after, the
“ same King *Edward* was, and stood married, and
“ troth plight to one Dame *Elinor Butler*, Daughter
“ to the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, with whom the said
“ King *Edward* had made a Pre-contract of Matri-
“ mony, long time before he made the said preten-
“ ded Marriage with the said *Elizabeth Grey*, in
“ Manner and Form aforesaid. Which Premises
“ being true, as in very truth they be true, it appeareth
“ and followeth evidently, that the said King *Ed-
“ ward*, during his Life, and the said *Elizabeth*,
“ lived together sinfully and damnably in Adultery,
“ against the Law of God and of his Church; and
“ therefore no marvel that the Sovereign Lord and
“ Head of the Land, being of such ungodly Dispo-
“ sition, and provoking the Ire and Indignation of
“ our Lord God, such heinous Mischief and In-
“ conveniences were used, and committed in the
“ Realm amongst the Subjects. Also it appeareth
evidently,

“ evidently, and followeth, that all the Issue and
“ Children of the said King *Edward* be Bastards,
“ and unable to inherit or claim any thing by In-
“ heritance, by the Law and Custom of *England*.

“ Moreover we consider how that afterwards, by
“ the three Estates of this Realm assembled in
“ Parliament, holden at *Westminster*, Anno 17. of
“ the Reign of the said King *Edward* the fourth,
“ he then being in Possession of the Crown and
“ royal Estate, by Act made in the same Parlia-
“ ment, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to the
“ said King *Edward* now deceased, was convicted
“ and attainted of High-Treason, as in the said Act
“ is contain'd more at large : Because, and by rea-
“ son whereof, all the Issue of the said *George* was,
“ and is disabled, and barred of all Right, and Claim,
“ that in any Case they might have, or challenge
“ by Inheritance, to the Crown and Dignity roy-
“ al of this Realm, by the ancient Laws and Cus-
“ toms of this same Realm.

“ Over this we consider, that you be the un-
“ doubted Heir of *Richard* Duke of *York*, very Inhe-
“ ritor of the said Crown and Dignity Royal, and,
“ as in Right, King of *England* by way of Inheritance:
“ And that at this Time, the Premisses duly confi-
“ dered, there is none other Person living but you
“ only, that may claim the said Crown and Digni-
“ ty royal by way of Inheritance; and how that you
“ be born within this Land, by reason whereof, as
“ we deem in our Minds, you be more naturally
“ inclined to the Prosperity and Commonweal of
“ the same; and all the three Estates of the Land
“ have, and may have more certain Knowledge of
“ your Birth and Filiation aforesaid. We consider
“ also the great Wit, Prudence, Justice, Princely
“ Courage, and the memorable and laudable Acts
“ in divers Battels, which as we by Experi-
“ ence

“ once know you heretofore have done for the De-
 “ fence and Salvation of this Realm, and also the
 “ great Nobleness and Excellency of your Birth
 “ and Blood, as of him that is descended of the
 “ three most royal Houses of Christendom, that
 “ is to say, *England, France, and Spain*. Wherefore,
 “ these Premises duly by us considered, We desiring
 “ effectually the Peace, Tranquillity, and Weal pub-
 “ lique of this Land, and the Reduction of the
 “ same to the ancient honourable Estate and Prof-
 “ perity: And having in your great prudent Jus-
 “ tice, princely Courage, and excellent Virtue,
 “ singular Confidence, have chosen in all that in us
 “ is, and by that our Writing choose you high
 “ and mighty Prince, our King and sovereign Lord,
 “ &c. to whom we know of certain it appertaineth
 “ of Inheritance so to be chosen. And hereupon we
 “ humbly desire, pray, and require your most Noble
 “ Grace, that, according to this Election of Us the
 “ three Estates of your Land, as by Inheritance,
 “ you will accept and take upon you the said Crown
 “ and royal Dignity, with all things thereunto an-
 “ nexed and appertaining, as to you of Right be-
 “ longing as well by Inheritance as by lawful Elec-
 “ tion: And in case you so do, we promise to as-
 “ sist and serve your Highness as true and faithful
 “ Subjects and Liege-men, and to live and die with
 “ you in this Matter, and in every other just Quar-
 “ rel; for certainly we be determined rather to ad-
 “ venture and commit us to the Peril of our Lives
 “ and Jeopardy of Death, than to live in such
 “ Thraldom and Bondage as we have done long
 “ time heretofore, oppress’d and injur’d by Extor-
 “ tions and new Impositions, against the Law of
 “ God and Man, and the Liberties, and old Policy,
 “ and Laws of this Land, wherein every *English*-
 “ man is inherited. Our Lord God, King of all
 “ Kings,

“ Kings, by whose infinite Goodness and eternal
 “ Providence all things been principally governed
 “ in this World, lighten your Soul, and grant you
 “ Grace to do as well in this Matter, as in all other,
 “ that which may be according to his Will and Plea-
 “ sure, and to the common and publique Weal of
 “ this Land; so that after great Clouds, Troubles,
 “ Storms, and Tempests, the Sun of Justice and of
 “ Grace may shine upon us, to the Joy and Com-
 “ fort of all true-hearted *Englishmen*.

“ Albeit that the Right, Title, and Estate which
 “ our Sovereign Lord King *Richard* III. hath to,
 “ and in the Crown and Royal Dignity of this
 “ Realm of *England*, with all Things thereunto
 “ within the same Realm, and without it, annexed
 “ and appertaining, been just and lawful, as ground-
 “ ed upon the Laws of God and Nature, and also
 “ upon the antient Laws and laudable Customs of
 “ this said Realm; and also taken and reputed by all
 “ such Persons as been learned in the abovesaid Laws
 “ and Customs.

“ Yet nevertheless, for as much as it is consider’d,
 “ that the most part of the People is not sufficiently
 “ learned in the abovesaid Laws and Customs, where-
 “ by the Truth and Right in this Behalf of Like-
 “ lihood may be hid, and not clearly known to all
 “ the People, and thereupon put in doubt and que-
 “ stion: And over this, how that the Court of Par-
 “ liament is of such Authority, and the People of
 “ this Land of such a Nature and Disposition, as
 “ Experience teacheth, that Manifestation and De-
 “ claration of any Truth or Right made by the
 “ three Estates of this Realm assembled in Parlia-
 “ ment, and by Authority of the same, maketh be-
 “ fore all other things most Faith and certain quiet-
 “ ing of Mens Minds, and removeth the Occasion
 “ of Doubts and seditious Language.

“ Therefore

“ Therefore at the Request, and by the Assent
 “ of the three Estates of this Realm, that is to say,
 “ The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons
 “ of this Land, assembled in this present Parliament,
 “ and by Authority of the same, be it pronounced,
 “ decreed, and declared, that our said Sovereign Lord
 “ the King was and is the very undoubted King of
 “ this Realm of *England*, with all things thereunto
 “ within the same Realm, and without it, united,
 “ annexed, and appertaining, as well by Right of
 “ Consanguinity and Inheritance, as by lawful E-
 “ lection, Consecration and Coronation.

“ And over this, at the Request, and by the As-
 “ sent and Authority abovesaid, be it ordain'd, en-
 “ acted, and establish'd, that the said Crown and
 “ Royal Dignity of this Realm, and the Inheritance
 “ of the same, and all other things thereunto with-
 “ in this Realm, or without it, united and annex'd,
 “ and now appertaining, rest and abide in the Per-
 “ son of our said Sovereign Lord the King during
 “ his Life; and after his Decease, in his Heirs of
 “ his Body begotten. In especial, at the Request,
 “ and by Assent and the Authority afore said, be it
 “ ordain'd, enacted, establish'd, pronounc'd, de-
 “ creed, and declared, that the high and excellent
 “ Prince *Edward*, Son of our said Lord the King,
 “ be Heir apparent of the same, our Sovereign Lord
 “ the King to succeed to him in the abovesaid Crown
 “ and Royal Dignity, with all things (as is afore said)
 “ thereunto united, annex'd, and appertaining, to
 “ have them after the Decease of our said Sove-
 “ reign Lord the King, to him, and to the Heirs
 “ of his Body lawfully begotten.

“ *Quæ quidem Billa Communibus Regni Angliæ in*
 “ *dicto Parlamento existentibus transportata fuit, cui*
 “ *quidem Bille idem Communes assensum suum præbue-*

“ runt

“runt sub his verbis: A ceste Bille les Communs
 “font assentes. *Quibus quidem Billa & assensu coram*
 “*Domino Rege in Parlamento predicto lectis, auditis,*
 “*& plene intellectis, & de assensu Dominorum Spiritu-*
 “*alium & Temporalium in dicto Parlamento similiter*
 “*existentium & Communitatis predictæ, nec non autho-*
 “*ritate ejusdem Parliamenti, pronunciatum, decretum,*
 “*& declaratum existit, omnia & singula in Billa predicta*
 “*contenta fore vera & indubia: Ac idem Dominus*
 “*Rex, de assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, &*
 “*authoritate predicta omnia & singula præmissa in Billa*
 “*predicta contenta concedit, & ea pro vero & indubio*
 “*pronunciat, decernit, & declarat.*

Thus we see his Title or Pretensions to the Crown were grounded upon those false Suggestions, that his Brother *Edward's* Children were illegitimate, and his Brother *Clarence's* Children disabled to inherit by their Father's Attainder. The first is a Matter of Fact which is now generally held to be false, and the other a Point of Law as generally exploded; it having been the receiv'd Opinion ever since, that on whomsoever the Crown descends, it purges all Defects, and there needs no Statute to repeal the Attainder of the next Heir to the Crown. However, this Prince being rank'd in the Number of our Kings, I proceed to give an Account of his Marriage and Issue.

He married *Anne*, the Daughter of *Richard Nevile*, His Marriage
 Earl of *Warwick*, while he was Duke of *Gloucester*; and Issue.
 by whom he had Issue only *Edward* of *York*, who
 was born *A. D. 1473*, and died in the Life-time of
 his Father. King *Richard* was kill'd at *Bosworth*, His Death.
 near *Leicester*, in the Battle fought there between
 him and the Earl of *Richmond*, on the 22d of *August*,
 in the Year of his Age, and the third of his
 Reign, *A. D. 1485*.

His Character
by *Holingshead*.

Our Historians are divided as to this Prince's Character, which, I suppose, is one Reason *Mr. Eichard* never attempted it. *Holingshead* says, as he was small and little of Stature, so was he of Bodie greatlie deformed; the one Shoulder higher than the other: His Face was small; but his Countenance cruel, and such, that at the first Aspect a Man would judge it to favour and smell of Malice, Fraud and Deceit. When he stood musing, he would bite and chaw busilie his nether Lip; as who said, that his fierce Nature in his cruel Bodie always chafed, stirred, and was ever unquiet; beside, that the Dagger which he wear, he would (when he studied) with his Hand plucke up and down in the Sheath to the midst, never drawing it fullie out. He was of a readie, pregnant, and quicke Wit, wilie to feine, and apt to dissemble. He had a proud Mind and an arrogant Stomach, the which accompanied him even to his Death, rather choosing to suffer the same by Dint of Sword, than being forsaken and left helpless of his unfaithful Companions, to preserve by cowardly Flight such a fraile and uncertain Life, which by Malice, Sicknesse, or condigne Punishment was like shortlie to come to Confusion.

A Character
of him by
Mr. Buck.

Mr. Buck endeavours to clear his Memory of the Charge of Tyranny. He says, Whereas a Tyrant imposeth many grievous Taxes and Oppressions upon his Subjects, he took away such Grievances, and particularly by Act of Parliament a hateful Tax, (tho' disguis'd with the Name of Benevolence) forbearing to impose any upon the People.

Then a Tyrant doth not **only** rapine his Subjects, but spoils and robs Churches and Churchmen; but King *Richard* did many good Things, both for the publick Good, advancing God's Service, and Maintenance of his Ministers and Churchmen.

Tyrannum

Tyrannum pium esse non est facile (as *Sophocles* well observ'd.) And the Oracle pronounced, *Porta felicitatis ad Tyrannidem clausa*, Tyrants be cruel and bloody. But this King, by the Testimony of his Enemies, was very merciful and mild; who confess he was of himself gentle and affably disposed. These be their own Words.

Therefore where tyrannical Acts be objected against him, they must be conceived done by other Men, or by their Practice, or else before he was King; and what he did then, was not, nor could be properly call'd Tyranny.

He adds: As there is necessarily required to Empire Wisdom, Justice, Fortitude, Beauty, Magnificence, Temperance, and Piety.

That he had Wisdom and Prudence, need no other Witness than his wife and provident managing both of his own private Affairs, and Government of the publick. Also in the military Actions, in which he was try'd both as a Subject and a King, his Adversaries can allow him to be a wise, prudent, politick, and heroical Prince; his Wisdom appearing, with his Justice, very clearly in the good Laws he made, acknowledg'd, and honourably predicated by our reverend and most learned Professors of the Laws.

For his further Knowledge and Love of Justice, there can be no fairer Argument than his Desire and Custom to sit in the Courts of Justice, hearing and distributing Justice to all Men.

And when he made his Progress into *Yorkshire*, being inform'd there of some Extortioners and foul Offenders, who were apprehended, and not tried, he caused the Law to take the just Current, giving strict Charge and Commandment to all Officers of Justice, for just Administration to all Men, without Partiality or private Respects.

The Fortitude and Magnanimity of this Prince (tho' low of Stature) were so great and famous, as they need no Trumpet or Præconomy, being bred from his Youth in martial Actions: And the Battels of *Barnet*, *Exham*, *Doncaster*; the second of *St. Albans*, and of *Tewksbury*, will give him the Reputation of a Soldier and Captain.

Being made General of the King's Armies sent into *Scotland*, he prevail'd happily in his Expedition, and particularly recover'd that famous and strong Hold of *Berwick*, which King *Henry VI.* had so weakly let go.

And in this you shall hear the Elogy of one that was loth to speak much in his Favour; yet Occasion forc'd him to speak his Knowledge, though coldly and sparingly: " * King *Richard* was no ill Captain
 * Sir Thomas More. " in the War; he had fundry Victories, and some-
 " times Overthrows, but never by his own Default,
 " for want of Hardiness or politick Order." Where-
 unto he addeth, concerning his Bounty; " free was
 " he call'd of Dispencc, and liberal somewhat above
 " his Power.

There is this Commendation of his Eloquence and pleasing Speech, which tho' no Regal Virtue, yet it is an Ornament to the greatest Princes, and commendable. The Prior of *Croyland*, repeating the Dispute of a Controversy between the two Brothers, *George Duke of Clarence*, and this *Richard of Gloucester*, at the Council-Table, before the King their Brother, sitting in his Chair of State, relates it in *English* thus:

" A Dispute arising betwixt the two Dukes, be-
 " ing Brothers, so many pregnant Reasons were
 " adduced by them on either Side, in the Presence
 " of the King, sitting in his Chair of State in the
 " Council-Chamber, that all who were there, even
 " such

King RICHARD III.

177

such as were well skill'd in the Laws, did admire
" that Fluency of Speech which the Princes had
" in readiness in their own Cause, &c.

Then speaking of the excellent Wit, extraordinary Knowledge and Gifts of these three Brothers, maketh this honourable Præcony: *Hi tres Germani, Rex & duo Duces, tam excellenti ingenio valebant, ut si discordare non voluissent, funiculus ille triplex difficillime rumperetur*; i. e. " These three Brothers, the
" King and the two Dukes, were of a Wit so excellent, that if they had not disagreed amongst
" themselves, such a threefold Cord could not, without the greatest Difficulty, have been broken asunder.

Let us look upon his charitable, religious and magnificent Works.

He founded a Collegiate Church of Priests in *Middleham* in *Yorkshire*; another College of Priests in *London*, in *Tower-street*, near the Church called our Lady *Berking*. He built a Church or Chapel in *Townton* in *Gloucestershire*, a Monument of his Thankfulness to Almighty God for the happy and great Victory his Brother had upon the Partisans of the Family of *Lancaster*, and the Sons of *Henry VI.* who before slew *Richard Duke of York*, King designate, and Father of these two Kings.

He founded a College in *York*, convenient for the Entertainment of an hundred Priests.

He disforested a great part of the Forest of *Wickford*, and other vast Woods between *Woodstock* and *Bristow*, for the Good and Benefit of the People of *Oxfordshire*, and the Places adjacent.

He built the high Stone Tower at *Westminster*, (which at this day is a Work of good Use;) and when he had repaired and fortify'd the Castle of

Carlisle, he founded and built the Castle of *Parrish* in *Cumberland*.

He manumised many Bondmen.

For the better Encouragement of the *Easterling* Hanses (their Trade being beneficial and profitable to this Kingdom) he granted them some good Privileges, as *Polidor* writeth.

He also founded the College and Society of Herald, and made them a Corporation.

He also built or repaired some part of the Tower of *London* towards the *Thames*, in Memory whereof there be yet his Arms impaled, with those of the Queen his Wife, standing upon the Arch adjoining to the *Sluice-gate*.

He began many other good Works, which his sudden Fate prevented.

To give you him in his equal Draught and Composition: He was of a mean or low Compact, but without Disproportion and Unevenness, either in Lineaments or Parts (as his several Pictures present him.) His Aspect had most of the Soldier in it; so his natural Inclination (Complexions not uncertainly expounding our Dispositions) must needs be harsh and crabbed; (and Envy will pick Quarrels with an Hair, rather than want a Subject.) The Judgment and Courage of his Sword Actions rendered him of a full Honour and Experience, which Fortune gratify'd with many Victories; never any Overthrows through his own Default, for lack of Valour or Policy. At Court, and in his general Deportment, of an affable Respect, and tractable Clearness: In his Dispencc, of a magnificent, liberal Hand, somewhat above his Power (as Sir *Thomas More* sets forth.) And surely the many Churches, with other good Works he founded, (more than any one former King did in so short a time) must commend him charitable and religious; as the excellent

cellent Laws he made do his Wisdom, and Strain of Government, which all Men confess of the best. So having (even from those his bitterest Times) the Esteem of a valiant, wise, noble, charitable and religious Prince, why should ours deprave him so much upon Trust, and deny Works their Character and Place?

The Body of *Richard III.* after many Indignities and Reproaches (the Dirges and Obsequies of the common People towards Tyrants) was obscurely buried; for though the King of his Nobleness gave Charge unto the Friars of *Leicester* to see an honourable Interment to be given to it, yet the religious People themselves (being not free from the Humours of the Vulgar) neglected it, wherein nevertheless they did not then incur any Man's Blame or Censure; no Man thinking an Ignominy or Contumely unworthy of him, that had been the Executioner of King *Henry VI.* (that innocent Prince) with his own Hands, the Contriver of the Death of the Duke of *Clarence* his Brother, the Murderer of his two Nephews, (one of them his lawful King in the present, and the other in the future failing of him) and vehemently suspected to have been the Impoisoner of his Wife, thereby to make vacant his Bed for a Marriage within the Degrees forbidden. And although he were a Prince in military Virtue approved, jealous of the Honour of the *English* Nation, and likewise a good Law-maker for the Ease and Solace of the common People; yet his Cruelties and Parricides, in the Opinion of all Men, weigh'd down his Virtues and Mérits; and in the Opinion of wise Men, even those Virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feign'd, and affected things to serve his Ambition, than true Qualities ingenerate in his Judgment or Nature: And therefore it was noted by Men of great Understanding (who

My Lord Bacon's Account of King Richard III.

seeing his After-acts, look'd back upon his former Proceedings) that even in the time of King *Edward* his Brother, he was not without secret Trains and Mines to turn Envy and Hatred upon his Brother's Government, as having an Expectation, and a kind of Divination, that the King, by reason of his many Disorders, could not be of long Life, but was like to leave his Sons of tender Years; and then he knew well how easy a Step it was from the Place of a Protector, and first Prince of the Blood, to the Crown; and that out of this deep Root of Ambition it sprang, that, as well at the Treaty of Peace that passed between *Edward IV.* and *Lewis XI.* of *France*, concluded by Interview of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as upon all other Occasions, *Richard*, then Duke of *Gloucester*, stood ever upon the Side of Honour, raising his own Reputation to the Disadvantage of the King his Brother, and drawing the Eyes of all (especially the Nobles and Soldiers) upon himself; as if the King, by his voluptuous Life, and mean Marriage, were become effeminate, and less sensible of Honour and Reason of State than was fit for a King. And as for the politick and wholesome Laws which were enacted in his Time, they were interpreted to be but the Brokage of an Usurper, thereby to woo and win the Hearts of the People, as being conscious to himself, that the true Obligations of Sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting.

Review of
the Reign
and Character
of King
Richard III.

King *Richard*, by what means soever he obtain'd the Crown, begun his Reign with several commendable Acts of Justice and Clemency; but being conscious of the ill Opinion the People had conceived of him, he thought it Prudence to have a good Body of Troops about him at his Coronation. He also propos'd to renew the League his Brother had made with the *French King*; but 'tis said that Prince

had

King RICHARD III.

181

had entertained such Notions of his Inhumanity, that he would have no Treaty with him.

In the first Year of this Reign we are told a very particular and formal Story of the King's murdering his two Nephews. Now tho' I make no great doubt that King *Richard* was the Author and Contriver of their Deaths, yet it seems very uncertain whether they were murdered at the time, or in the manner, 'tis commonly related; for it was transacted so secretly, that it remained a Doubt even in the next Reign, whether they were really dead or no: And this occasioned no small Uneasiness to King *Henry VII.* who would certainly have given the World better Satisfaction in this Point, if he had been able, in order to have strengthened his Title, and confuted the many Reports that one of them at least was living.

At a Parliament held the first Year of this Reign, King *Richard* did not only take care of limiting the Succession of the Crown to his own Family, as has been already observed, but enacted many good Laws for the Benefit of the Commonwealth.

But while he was taking all proper Measures to recover the good Opinion of the People, the Duke of *Bucks*, who had been so considerable an Instrument in advancing him to the Throne, grew discontented, and conspired his Ruin; in which the Duke was very much assisted by Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who was his Prisoner. These two conferring Notes with the Queen-Dowager, and the Countess of *Richmond*, Mother to the Earl of *Richmond*, who was in *Bretaigne*, agreed upon a Match between the young Earl, who was generally reputed Heir of the House of *Lancaster*, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward IV.* the Heiress of the House of *York*. This was extremely acceptable to the whole Nation, as being a means

to put an end to those intestine Wars and Devastations they had sustained in the Quarrel between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*.

King *Richard* having some Intimation of this Conspiracy, endeavoured by fair means, and afterwards by Threats, to get the Duke of *Bucks* into his Power; but the Duke was too well acquainted with his Practices to come within his reach; and finding the Nation ready to fall in with his Scheme, had recourse to Arms, and with a good Body of *Welsh* advanced towards *Gloucester*, with an Intent to pass the *Severn* there, and join his Friends in *England*: which if he could have effected, 'tis generally believed he had put a Period to King *Richard's* Reign: But, unhappily for the Duke, there fell such violent Rains that the *Severn* overflowed its Banks, and rose to that Height as was never known before or since, which prevented the joining of the several Bodies the Conspirators had rais'd; whereupon they all dispersed, and retired to their respective Homes, leaving the Duke to shift for himself, who, trusting to the Fidelity of one *Banister*, who had been his Steward, to conceal him, was treacherously given up, on the issuing of a Proclamation offering a thousand Pounds for his Head. King *Richard* would not admit the Duke to his Presence after he was taken, but caused him to be examined, and when he had discovered all he knew of the Conspiracy, commanded his Head to be struck off, without any manner of Process, as 'tis said the Duke had serv'd many others by the same King's arbitrary Commands.

The Earl of *Richmond* too, being embarqued with some Forces in order to have made a Descent on *England*, his Fleet was dispersed, and himself driven back to *France*, where he met with the News of the Misfortune of his Confederates in *England*, from the

the Earl of *Dorset*, and others who had made their Escape. The Earl of *Richmond*, and his Adherents, were hereupon attainted in the Parliament of *England*, and declared Enemies to their Country, and their Estates confiscated.

The King being still apprehensive of the Earl of *Richmond's* Interest in *England*, tamper'd with the Duke of *Bretagne's* Ministers to deliver him up; which it seems they had infallibly done, if the Earl had not discovered the Design just before it was to have been executed, and made his Escape to the *French King*.

King *Richard* finding his Project frustrated, had recourse to another Stratagem, which was to reconcile himself to the Queen-Dowager; which he effected, and prevail'd with her and her Daughters to quit the Sanctuary. 'Tis said also he destroyed his own Queen, by his barbarous Usage of her, and proposed a Match with his Niece the Lady *Elizabeth*, to strengthen his Title, and defeat the Scheme that had been laid to marry her to the Earl of *Richmond*; and 'tis affirm'd all Parties were agreed: But if this was true, I cannot see why the Earl of *Richmond's* second Expedition should prevent it, and not rather hasten it.

The Earl of *Richmond*, having obtained fresh Supplies from the *French King*, and the Duke of *Bretagne*, embarked again for *England*, and landed in the beginning of *August*, 1485, at *Milford-haven*, with about two thousand Men; and marching to *Litchfield*, was daily joined by the Gentlemen of the County.

It seems King *Richard's* former Success against the Duke of *Bucks* had rendred him a little too secure: He had laid up his Fleet, and disbanded most of his Troops; and even when the Earl was actually landed, his Numbers and Interest were represented as
so

so inconsiderable, that he did not make that Provision against him he might have done.

But understanding the Earl had pass'd the *Severn*, he began to be alarm'd, and gave Orders for the assembling all his Forces, and march'd in Person against him. The Armies came in sight of each other on the twenty first of *August*, and the next Day drew up in Order of Battel in the Fields of *Bojsworth*, near *Leicester*.

King *Richard's* Friends, finding a great Desertion in his Army, and the Lord *Stanley* with a Body of Troops ready to join the Enemy, advised him to retire to some Place of Strength, and reserve himself for a more favourable Juncture; but he rejected the Advice, and said, *That that Day should determine the War, or his Life*. The Armies being engaged, he made it his Business to discover in what part of the Field his Enemy the Earl of *Richmond* was, and advanced against him; and had the Earl been a Gentleman of equal Spirit, the two Persons most interested in the Cause might have determined the Controversy themselves; but the Earl suffered several of his Men to interpose between him and King *Richard*. The King however press'd through them, overthrew the Standard, and kill'd the Standard-bearer Sir *William Brandon*: He afterwards bore down Sir *John Cheyney* to the Ground, a Knight remarkable for his Strength and Valour, and was now coming to close with the Earl, when the Lord *Stanley's* Troops advancing to the Earl of *Richmond's* Assistance, the King was forced to leave him, to give the necessary Orders to his Troops; and finding himself soon after deserted by his own Troops, and surrounded by his Enemies, he sold his Life as dear as he could, and fell bravely in the midst of them, with his Sword in his Hand. His Army, who were the greatest part of them in the Enemy's

Interest

King RICHARD III.

185

Interest before, made no further Resistance. The King's Body was laid cross a Horse, and so carried to *Leicester*, where it was interr'd without any Ceremony.

From this Review of the Reign of King *Richard* III. he appears to be a Prince of great Sagacity and Courage, but seems to have abandoned all Religion and Conscience when he fix'd his Eyes upon the Crown: He thought neither Friends, Relations, Honour, or even Heaven itself, ought to come in Competition with the glorious Bauble.

Reflections
on the Reign
of Rich. III.

Mr. *Buck* endeavours to excuse, or at least palliate his Crimes, by shewing, that many great Princes have arriv'd at Empire by as vile Means. He says, we easily forgive *Henry I.* *Edward III.* *Henry IV.* and *Henry VII.* because they had their happy Stars, and Success attended them; *Prosperum scelus virtus vocatur.*

That *Julius Caesar* is reputed a wise and great Captain, although his Ambition cost an infinite Quantity of excellent human Blood; and his Nephew *Augustus* never ceas'd proscribing, banishing, and massacring, till he had dispatch'd all his Competitors. *Polynices*, the Brother of *Eteocles*, held, that a Kingdom could not be purchas'd at too high a Rate, even with the Destruction of Friends, Kindred, Wife, and Riches. And, according to *Seneca* in *Trag'*

*By Fraud, or Theft, to seize a Crown,
Is the old Game long since to Princes known.*

And King *Atreus* by his own Experience could say,

Dominion teaches every wicked Art.

But

But Mr. *Buck* does not only seem to countenance King *Richard's* Practices by many great Examples; but he endeavours sometimes to shew he was really innocent of what he was charg'd with. He inclines to that Opinion, that the Crown of *England* of Right belong'd to him, as that most servile Parliament in his Reign enacted, That the Duke of *Clarence*, and his Issue, were disabled to inherit by an Act of Attainder; and the Issue of King *Edward IV.* were spurious, by reason of a Pre-contract between King *Edward* and the Lady *Eleanor*.

In answer to this, I perceive it is held to be an unwarrantable Proceeding to endeavour to bastardize the Issue after the Death of the Father, when no Process was begun in order to it in his Lifetime. And I think our Lawyers generally agree, that the Succession of the Crown is not bound by any Act of Attainder, but that the Descent of it wipes off all Defects. And if either of these Points be tenable, King *Richard's* Title will not be mended, though we admit the Facts Mr. *Buck* insists on to be true.

Mr. *Buck* proceeds further, and endeavours to clear him of that barbarous Act the Murder of his Nephews, by pretending to shew he could have no Interest in it, they being declared Bastards, and disabled to inherit by Parliament. But he very well knew, the Nation was never satisfy'd in this Matter; and that nothing is so common as for Parliaments to pass inconsistent Acts, and repeal one Year what they enacted another; and therefore nothing could so effectually secure his Possession of the Throne as the taking off his Nephews. And if Mr. *Buck* will admit his murdering *Henry VI.* and his Brother *Clarence*, which are imputed to him, People will make no great Difficulty of believing him the Author of the other, especially having so
great

great Authorities as Sir *Thomas More* and the Lord *Verulam* to confirm them in that Opinion.

Then as to the poisoning his Queen, or breaking her Heart by ill Usage, with which he is charg'd: This Mr. *Buck* holds there was no manner of Occasion for, since he might have been divorc'd from her by the Pope, and the Parliament, as *Henry VIII.* was from Queen *Katherine*, and *Anne of Cleve*; and many other Examples he gives us of this kind both from sacred and profane Histories. And, indeed, in those Days the Pope's Bulls in these Cases were held most sacred and decisive, and were often obtain'd for Money. Parliaments too were extreamly complaisant, and seldom refused any thing the King demanded, but Supplies. They made little Scruple of resigning their Integrity and Understanding to the good Will and Pleasure of the Prince; and therefore one would have thought the King should have taken the Way of Divorce rather than that of her Death, which must render him so odious, unless he thought the former might prove too dilatory for his Purpose, or that his Rival was more in the Pope's Favour than himself.

I must not dismiss my Reflections on this Reign, without taking notice of the Justice of the divine Vengeance upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was the great Instrument in advancing King *Richard* to the Throne, in destroying the Earl of *Rivers*, and the rest of the Queen's Relations, and the bastardizing and disabling King *Edward's* Issue to inherit. Whoever observes of how short Duration this Friendship between the Usurper and the Duke was, which was thus founded in innocent Blood, how little Enjoyment they reaped from those repeated Acts of Cruelty and Injustice, and how suddenly they conspired and effected each other's Ruin, after they had accomplished what they seem'd to aim at,

might

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might be deterr'd from imitating the impious Precedent.

And to observe with what Coldness and Jealousy the Usurper ever treats the Man who has the greatest Share in his Advancement, methinks should cool the Zeal of those restless Spirits, who are ever busily employ'd in Conspiracies against their lawful Princes, and contriving Revolutions.

Having animadverted upon the cruel and detest-ed Means King *Richard* took to secure to himself the Possession of the Throne, it would be Injustice not to take some notice of the bright Side of his Character.

It is confess'd by his Enemies, that soon after his Accession, he applied himself with all Diligence to the Reformation of the State; that he enacted many good Laws, and erected several magnificent Structures; that he was a Prince of great Penetration, a Master in the Art of War, and of great personal Valour, perhaps superior in some of these respects to his Competitor the Earl of *Richmond*; for upon that fatal Day, the Battel of *Bosworth*, when King *Richard* found his Troops deserting him, how bravely did he endeavour to restore his Affairs, by charging the Earl in Person, who plainly declin'd the Combat, by suffering others to interpose? And whatever Truth there may be in the many horrid Facts imputed to King *Richard*, he certainly has not had Justice done him in the Description of his Person; for had he been that little, crooked, contemptible Mortal they make him, he could not sure have encounter'd the bravest Knights in the Earl's Army, personally, one after another, with that Success he did, when there was no such thing as Fire-Arms, and when Success depended very much upon the Strength and Stature of the Hero. There is no doubt but King *Richard's* Ambition

had

King RICHARD III.

189

had prompted him to commit many Acts of Cruelty and Injustice; but he may possibly be charged with more than he was really guilty of: For when a Man has once obtain'd an ill Reputation, the World make no Difficulty of believing every thing that is ill of him afterwards; every ill-natur'd Suggestion passes for an establish'd Truth; and they will not allow the obnoxious Person to be Master of one good Quality: As in the Case before us, his very Person must be deform'd, and his Countenance distorted, to render him the more detested; whereas, in truth, there is no Man so accomplish'd, but has some Blemishes; nor no Man so depraved, but he may retain many good Qualities.

And so bravely as this Prince behav'd himself at the Battel of *Bosworth*, surely his Rival was infinitely to blame to suffer his dead Body to be mangled, and treated in that ignominious manner it was. This is what might have been expected from an insolent Mob, but very ill became a Hero to con-
give at.



H E N R Y VII.



HENRY VII. was the Son of *Edmund of Hadham*, Earl of *Richmond*, who was Son of *Owen Tudor* and Queen *Katherine*, the Widow of *Henry V.* His Mother *Margaret* was the only Daughter of *John*, the first Earl of *Somerset*, who was the Son of *John of Gaunt*, the fourth Son of *Edward III.*

1485.
His Pedigree.

This

This Prince having obtain'd the Victory at *Bosworth*, as has been related in the last Reign, by the Desertion of the Lord *Stanley* to him with a great Body of King *Richard's* Troops, and the King himself being kill'd in the Action, *Henry* was immediately saluted by the Title of King in the Field of *Bartel*; and the late King *Richard's* Crown, which he wore that Day, was set upon his Head by the Lord *Stanley*. And from this Day, being the 22d of *August* 1485, the Reign of this Prince is said to commence. He was crown'd the 31st of *October* following.

His Title
and Pretensions
to the
Crown.

As to his Title, which was every way defective, being neither Hereditary nor Parliamentary, it was propos'd to be made good by his Marriage with the Lady *Elizabeth*, the Heiress of the House of *York*, he himself not being so much as Heir even to the House of *Lancaster*, according to Mr. *Echard*; for says he, *John* of *Gaunt*, the fourth Son of *Edward* III. from whom *Henry* VII. deriv'd his Descent, had three Wives, and by the two first left Issue; and many of the Descendants of *John* of *Gaunt* by his first Wife, in whose Right he enjoy'd the Duchy of *Lancaster*, were living at the time of King *Henry* VII.'s Accession, who descended from *Katherine* *Swinford*, the third Wife of *John* of *Gaunt*. And so far Mr. *Echard* is in the right, that the Descendants of *John* of *Gaunt* by his third Wife cou'd never be Heirs to the Duchy of *Lancaster*, which came to him by his first Wife, because they were but of the half Blood. But the Sons of *John* of *Gaunt* by the third Wife might have been Heirs to him, and to the Kingdom, if the Father himself had had any Right to it, upon Failure of Male Issue by the two first Wives (as there actually was;) for the Issue of *John* of *Gaunt* did not derive a Right to the Kingdom from any of his Wives, but from their Father himself, who was the fourth Son of *Edward* III. [It

[It was sometimes pretended indeed, that *Blanch*, the first Wife of *John of Gaunt*, who lineally descended from *Edmund Crouchback* (and whom the *Lancastrians* wou'd have to be the eldest Son of *Henry III.*) was Heiress of the Crown. But this had been long given up, and *Edward I.* universally acknowledg'd to be the eldest Son of *Henry III.* and consequently *Blanch* was not Heiress of the Crown; nor cou'd *John of Gaunt* derive any Right to it from her; he himself proceeding from the elder Son of *Henry III.* and she from the younger.]

But there remains a further Objection against King *Henry VII.*'s deriving any Right to the Kingdom from *John of Gaunt*, even supposing *John of Gaunt* himself had a Right to it.

And that is, that the Issue *John of Gaunt* had by *Katherine Swinford* his third Wife, from whom *Henry VII.* descended, were really Bastards, begotten and born in Adultery, during the Life of a former Wife of *John of Gaunt*.

To this I know it is commonly reply'd, that the Issue of this Marriage between *John of Gaunt* and *Katherine Swinford* are made legitimate by Parliament; from whence some infer they were made capable of enjoying the Crown. But this appears a Mistake, upon perusing the Act of Legitimation itself; which being but short, I have here inserted, with the *English* Translation.

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum Joannis Ducis Lancastriæ.

“**RICHARDUS**, Dei Gratia, Rex *Anglia*,
 “*Francia*, Dominus *Hibernie*; Charissimis Con-
 “sanguineis nostris Nobilibus Viris *Joanni de Beau-*
 “*fort* Militi, *Henrico de Beaufort* Clerico, *Thome de*
 Vol. I. O “*Beaufort*

“ *fort Domicello, & Nobili Mulieri Joanna Beaufort*
 “ *Domicellæ, præclarissimi Patruï nostri Nobilis Viri*
 “ *Joannis Ducis Aquitania & Lancastria Germanis*
 “ *natis, & Liegis nostris, salutem.*

“ Nos pro honore & meritis, &c. Avunculi nos-
 “ tri, proprio arbitratu, & meritorum suorum intuitu,
 “ vos quia magno probitatis ingenio, ac vitæ ac
 “ morum honestate fulgetis, & ex regali estis pro-
 “ sapia propagati, &c. Hinc est quod *Joannis, &c.*
 “ Avunculi nostri, genitoris vestri, precibus incli-
 “ nati vobis (cum (ut asseritur) defectum natalium
 “ patimini) hujusmodi defectum, & ejusdem qua-
 “ litates quascunque abolere præsentis, vos haberi
 “ volumus pro sufficientibus ad quoscunque hono-
 “ res, dignitates, præ-eminencias, status, gradus, &
 “ officia publica & privata, tam perpetua quam
 “ temporalia, atque judicialia & nobilia, quibus-
 “ cunque nominibus nuncupentur, etiamsi Ducatus,
 “ Principatus, Comitatus, Baronix, vel alia Feuda
 “ fuerint, etiamsi mediate vel immediate a nobis
 “ dependeant seu teneantur, præfici, præmoveri, eli-
 “ gi, assumi & admitti; illaque recipere proinde li-
 “ bere ac licite valeatis, ac si de legitimo thoro nati
 “ existeritis, quibuscunque statutis seu consuetudini-
 “ bus regni nostri *Angliæ* in contrarium editis, seu
 “ observatis, quæ hic habemus pro totaliter expressis,
 “ nequaquam obstantibus, de plenitudine nostræ
 “ regalis potestatis, & de assensu Parlamento nostri,
 “ tenore præsentium dispensamus, vosque & quem-
 “ libet vestrum natalibus Restituimus & Legitima-
 “ mus. Die *Feb. Anno Regni 20 R. II.*

Which in *English* is as follows.

A Charter

*A Charter of Legitimation of the Bastards
of John Duke of Lancaster.*

“ **RICHARD**, by the Grace of God, King of
“ *England and France*, and Lord of *Ireland*; To
“ our most dear Cousins the illustrious *John Beaufort*
“ Kt. *Henry Beaufort* Clerk, *Thomas Beaufort* Gent.
“ and *Joanna Beaufort* Gentlewoman, of our most
“ renown’d Uncle the Noble *John Duke of Guienne*
“ and *Lancaster* Children German, and our Lieges,
“ Greeting.

“ We for the Honour and Merits, &c. of our
“ Uncle, out of our own good Pleasure, and in
“ Consideration of his Deserts, because you are con-
“ spicuous for your virtuous Inclinations, and Ho-
“ nesty of Life and Manners, and descended of Roy-
“ al Progenitors, &c. Hence it is, that moved by
“ the earnest Entreaties of our Uncle your Parent,
“ to remove from you (for (as is said) there is a
“ Defect in your Birth) this Defect, and all its
“ present Consequences, we will that you be, and
“ be reputed capable to be preferred, promoted,
“ elected, assumed and admitted to any Honours,
“ Dignities, States, Degrees, Offices publick and
“ private, as well perpetual as temporary, and ju-
“ dicial and noble, by what Appellations soever
“ distinguished; whether Dukedoms, Principalities,
“ Earldoms, Baronies and Feuds, whether medi-
“ ately or immediately *depending or holding of us*; and
“ them to take hold of and enjoy as freely and
“ rightfully as if you had been born in lawful Ma-
“ trimony, all Statutes and Customs of our King-
“ dom of *England* to the contrary enacted, or ob-
“ served, as if they were here mentioned at length,
“ notwithstanding; with which, out of the Fulness

“ of our Royal Power, and with Consent of our
 “ Parliament, by the Tenor of these Presents, We
 “ dispense, and you, and every one of you, to Birth
 “ Restore and Legitimate.—Day of Feb. in the
 “ 20th Year of our Reign, R. II.

Now as it is a receiv'd Opinion that the Crown, or the Succession thereof, cannot be affected or altered but by express Words; and therebeing not so much as general Words in this Act that can amount to the enabling this spurious Issue to succeed to the Crown, they must still remain under their Incapacities as to that Point.

The only Word which gives any Colour to the contrary Opinion is *Principatus*, Principalities: And this my Lord Coke, in his fourth Institutes, is of opinion could not extend to enable them to inherit the Crown. And if we had not so great an Authority, it seems plain, from the Word *Principatus* being plac'd after the Word *Ducatus*, that something less than a Dukedom was intended by it: For it is observable, that the lowest Titles are last mention'd in this Act. And it is farther observable, that the Act says, all Dukedoms, Principalities, &c. *a nobis dependeant seu teneantur*, depending or holden of us; which by no Construction can relate to the Kingdom itself, but to some inferior Principalities, holden or dependent of the King. Besides, it cannot be suppos'd that if the Parliament had intended by this Act to have alter'd or limited the Succession of the Crown, but they wou'd have us'd more determin'd and significant Expressions. But as I said, upon the bare Perusal of the Act itself, I believe it will be easily admitted, that the Issue of *Katherine Swinford* by *John of Gaunt* were only intended to be made capable of inheriting such Honours and Estates as Subjects might inherit; and the Act had no View to the Succession of the Crown.

But

But there is no Necessity of labouring this Point any further, it being at this Day universally agreed, that the Right to the Crown was in the House of York; and that none of the Princes of the House of Lancaster had any Title to it.

Our Historians indeed are very ready to admit Henry VII.'s Title after his Marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter of Edward IV. and Heiress of the House of York; because it is presumed, they say, he administer'd the Government by the Consent of his Wife. Yet since it appears he was ever averse to the owning her Title, and that she was wholly excluded the Exercise of the Government, and not so much as join'd with him in one Regal Act, I can't see why he should not still be esteem'd a Usurper.

Indeed, had the Royal Assent been given by her to the Act which settled the Crown upon Henry VII. and his Issue, then might his Title have been admitted on all hands: But the bare marrying a Queen of England will not confer the Power, or even the Name of a King, upon the Man she marries.

The Truth is, King Henry had Victory, and the Pope on his Side; and having married the undoubted Heiress of the Crown, had no Competitors to fear. And as he was not under a necessity of declaring by what Right he held the Crown, he gratified his Humour in not declaring he held it in the Right of a Family which of all others he hated. We see it was with abundance of Reluctance he was at length prevail'd on to marry the Lady Elizabeth, tho' under the most solemn Engagements to do it; and without which Alliance he knew he must never expect to sit easy on his Throne.

In this Reign there pass'd an Act for indemnifying those who shou'd adhere to a King *de facto*: Which being thought to have made a great Altera-

The Act of Indemnity for those who adhere to the King *de facto*.

tion in the Subject's Allegiance, and the Duty he owes his rightful Prince when out of Possession, I have hereafter inserted it. But it is made a Question, I perceive, by some, whether the last Clause in the Act does not destroy all that goes before, and make void that Indemnity the Act seems to establish; for it provides, *That none shall have the Benefit of the Act, who shall decline from their Allegiance.* Now if a King *de jure* out of Possession shall happen to recover his Throne, it is a Question, say they, whether those that have fought against him, or contributed to keep him out, may not be interpreted to have declined from their Allegiance; and then what Benefit can any Man reap from this Act? To this it is answered, that such an Interpretation ought to be rejected, because it apparently contradicts the whole Design and Tenor of the Act, and makes it of no effect; and it is highly reasonable to suppose the last Clause was added rather to secure the then present Possessor, than to destroy the Law it self; which the Preamble declares to be so highly just and reasonable. But let the Reader determine which is the most reasonable Opinion from the Act it self, which is as follows.

Anno Undecimo Henrici Septimi, Cap. I.

“ **T**HE King our Sovereign Lord calling to his
 “ Remembrance the Duty of Allegiance of his
 “ Subjects of this his Realm; and that they by
 “ reason of the same are bound to serve their Prince
 “ and Sovereign Lord for the time being in his
 “ Wars, for the Defence of him and the Land, a-
 “ gainst every Rebellion, Power and Might reared
 “ against him; and with him to enter and abide in
 “ Service in Battle, if case so require; and that for
 “ the

" the same Service, what Fortune ever fall by Chance
 " in the same Battel, against the Mind and Will of
 " the Prince (as in this Land some time passed hath
 " been seen) that it is not reasonable, but against
 " all Laws, Reason and good Conscience, that the
 " said Subjects going with their Sovereign Lord
 " in Wars, attending upon him in his Person, or
 " being in other Places by his Commandment,
 " within this Land or without, any thing should
 " lose or forfeit, for doing their true Duty and
 " Service of Allegiance: It be therefore ordained,
 " enacted and established by the King our Sovereign
 " Lord, by the Advice and Assent of the Lords
 " Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this
 " present Parliament assembled, and by Authority
 " of the same, that from henceforth no manner of
 " Person or Persons, whatsoever he or they be, that
 " attend upon the King and Sovereign Lord of this
 " Land, *for the time being*, in his Person, and do
 " him true and faithful Service of Allegiance in
 " the same, or be in other Places by his Command-
 " ment in his Wars, within this Land or without;
 " that for the said Deed and true Duty of Allegi-
 " ance he or they be in no wise convict or attaint
 " of High Treason, nor of other Offences, for that
 " Cause by Act of Parliament, or otherwise by any
 " Process of Law, whereby he or any of them shall
 " lose or forfeit Life, Lands, Tenements, Rents,
 " Possessions, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattels, or
 " any other things; but to be for that Deed and
 " Service utterly discharged of any Vexation, Trou-
 " ble, or Loss. And if any Act or Acts, or other
 " Process of the Law hereafter thereupon, for the
 " same happen to be made contrary to this Ordi-
 " nance, that then that Act or Acts, or other Pro-
 " cess of the Law, whatsoever they shall be, stand
 " and be utterly void: Provided alway, that no
 " Person

“ Person or Persons shall take any Benefit or Advantage by this Act, which shall hereafter decline from his or their said Allegiance.

The Marriage and Issue of Hen. VII.

King *Henry VII.* as has been already observ'd, married the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of *Edward IV.* By whom he had Issue,

1. *Arthur Tudor* his eldest Son, who afterwards married the Princess *Katherine* of *Spain*, and died without Issue, in the Life-time of his Father, 2. *Henry Tudor* his second Son, who succeeded his Father in the Throne. 3. *Edmund Tudor* his third Son, who died at a Year old. He had also four Daughters; viz. 1. *Margaret Tudor*, married to *James IV.* King of *Scots*. 2. *Elizabeth Tudor*, who died at three Years of Age. 3. *Mary Tudor*, married to *Lewis XII.* King of *France*; and afterwards to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*. 4. *Katherine Tudor*, who died soon after she was born.

His Age and Death.

King *Henry* died at *Richmond* on the 22d Day of *April*, in the 53d Year of his Age, and the 24th of his Reign, *A. D.* 1509.

His Character.

Our Author tells us, he was a Prince of great Vigour and Strength of Body, lean, and of Stature taller than the common sort, of a wonderful Beauty and fair Complexion, with a Countenance pleasing and smiling, especially in Conversation: Yet he had a high Spirit, and haughty Courage, and govern'd without a Rival, not admitting any near or full Approach, either to his Power or to his Secrets, and all without any affected Ostentation. He was a Man of wonderful Abilities, and had many excellent Qualifications: He was sober, moderate, chaste and pious; had a quick Wit, and a profound Penetration, which in all great Perils and Emergencies was supernatural, and in a manner divine. And indeed, as to Wisdom and Policy he seem'd to excel all

all Princes, always shewing in them something admirable and surprising, by which he surmounted infinite Difficulties both before and after he came to the Crown; and brought Peace, Union and Tranquility to a Nation divided, distracted and besmeared with Blood, gaining the full Possession of a Throne, by a Complication of all the Titles that ever made a Man King; as Inheritance, Marriage, Conquest, Usurpation and Election, besides the pontifical Confirmation. Having obtain'd the Crown, he politickly took care to put gradual Stops to the Power of the Nobility, who had lately raised such Storms in the Nation; which he performed by procuring three several Laws. By one of which the Barons Lands were made alienable, which would cause them insensibly to divide and break in pieces. By another he encourag'd Husbandry, ascertaining Proportions of Land for Tillage, by which the Country Farmers living more plentifully, wou'd not so readily be seduc'd by their Lords to disturb the publick Peace. By a third Retainers were lopt off; so that the Nobility were stript of their mighty Retinues, and cou'd not easily compose a Cavalry, which was usually made up of these Followers. By all which, the Balance of the Nation was gradully alter'd, and the Commons obtain'd a greater Power and Figure than ever they had before. As his Wisdom was great, so he took care to be serv'd by the ablest Men that cou'd be found in the Nation, both as to War and Counsel; nor did he regard how subtle they were; for as to that he knew himself to have the Master Reach. His Government and Power was extensive and great: Yet no King ever yielded more to his Parliaments, which still made it greater; so that many foreign Princes either courted or dreaded it. Some reckon it among his principal Glories, that three Popes, *Alexander*

Alexander VI. Pius III. and Julius II. did, in their several Times, with the Consent of their Cardinals, elect him for *Chief Defender of CHRIST's Church*, before all other Christian Princes. He always profess'd to love and seek Peace: And it was his usual Preface to his Treaties, *That when CHRIST came into the World, Peace was sung; and when he went out of the World, Peace was bequeath'd.* Yet he is blam'd for making himself somewhat little, by being ambitious; and a little poor, in admiring Riches. But as to his Ambition, it was better regulated than in any of his Predecessors: And his Avarice might be said to be more the Effect of his Policy, than his Temper. The most real Stains upon his Memory were his taking off the Lord *Stanley's* Head, who had set the Crown upon his; and his unfair Execution of the young Earl of *Warwick*, without any certain Guilt; or perhaps none greater than his being the last of the *Plantagenet* Race, which seem'd to have been reveng'd upon his own Race and Progeny; for his Possession in the first Line ended in his Grandchildren, as that of *Edward III.* and *Henry IV.* had done before him. He seems to have been more than ordinary solicitous about his Posterity: And by a fam'd Tradition we are told, that he sent to enquire after his Successors from a celebrated Prophet or Necromancer, who in his Answer returned him this remarkable *Latin* Verse; *Mars puer Alesto, Virgo Vulpes, Leo Nullus.*

A Review
of the Reign
of *Hen. VII.*

No Prince ever came to the Throne with greater Applause than *Henry VII.* He was look'd upon as the Person, who by Marriage with the Heiress of *York* should unite all those jarring Factions which had so long distracted the Kingdom. And could he have dissembled his Spleen to the House of *York*, and dispens'd his Favours with an impartial Hand at his Accession, he had made himself the happiest Prince

Prince that ever sat upon the Throne. But so far did Passion and Resentment triumph over that Wisdom he is so much fam'd for, that he studied all Opportunities of depressing those that favoured, or were related to the House of *York*; and thereby laid the Foundation of those Troubles and Insurrections which ensued. One of the first Instances of his Dread or Hatred of the House of *York*, was his imprisoning the Earl of *Warwick*, Son to the Duke of *Clarence*, in the *Tower*.

On the Day of his Coronation, he established a Guard for his Person, now call'd the Yeomen of the Guard. Which never having been done by any of his Predecessors, was look'd upon as an Intimation that he depended more on his Troops than upon the Affection of his People. Having called a Parliament, he caused the Crown to be settled upon his own Issue, not mentioning by what Woman. And notwithstanding his Oath to marry the Lady *Elizabeth*, he deferred it so long, that it is generally believ'd, had he not found an apparent Necessity of solemnizing it, to prevent a general Revolt, he had never taken her to his Bed.

There is another Act, which pass'd in his first Parliament, which seems very unjust, if not impolitick; and that is the Act of Attainder of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Surrey*, and other Adherents of the late King, whose Title was certainly as good as *Henry VII.*'s. And if we look upon them both as Kings *de facto*, and to have no manner of legal Title to the Crown; yet even in that Case, according to the above-mention'd Act for securing his Possession, *It was against all Laws, Reason and good Conscience, that the Subjects going with their Sovereign Lord to the Wars should lose or forfeit any thing.* And therefore by that Statute we find it is enacted, that whoever shall attend the King for the time being, in his Wars, shall not

not be convicted or attainted of High-Treason, or of any other Offence, but be absolutely indemnified.

Now it bears a little hard upon the Memory of this Prince, that he, who thought it so highly reasonable that Subjects obeying a King *de facto* should be indemnified, when it was his own Case, should yet be so severe upon those who defended the Possession of his Predecessor.

But these Attainders and Confiscations brought Money into his Treasury: And that was always an Argument of great Weight with this Prince.

It is observable, that tho' it was resolved by the Judges that it was necessary to reverse the Attainders of the Adherents of *Henry VII.* to restore them to Blood, and qualify them to sit in Parliament; yet they held, that as to the King himself, it was not necessary to reverse his Attainder; for that the Crown took away all Defects and Corruption of Blood; and that from the time the King *assumed* the Crown, all Attainders and Corruption of Blood as to him were discharged. And yet it was held by the Parliament in the preceding Reign, that the Attainder of the Duke of *Clarence* made his Issue incapable of succeeding to the Crown. And unless this had been held for Law then, they could have no Colour of recognizing King *Richard III.* From whence we may observe, that a Prince, who has Power on his Side, may make the Laws and Lawyers too speak what Language he pleases, and reconcile the most notorious Contradictions.

Lord Bacon's
Account of
the Sweating
Sickness.

Though it be not directly to my purpose, it may not be amiss to take notice of the Sweating Sickness, which happen'd in the first Year of this Reign; of which my Lord *Bacon* gives us the following Account.

He

He says, in Autumn, towards the End of *September*, there began and reign'd in the City, and other Parts of the Kingdom, a Disease then new; which, of the Accidents and Manner thereof, they call'd the Swearing Sickness. This Disease had a swift Course both in the sick Body, and in the Time and Period of the lasting thereof; for they that were taken with it, upon twenty-four Hours escaping, were thought almost assur'd. And as to the time of the Malice and Reign of the Disease e're it ceas'd, it began about the 21st of *September*, and clear'd up before the End of *October*; insomuch as it was no Hindrance to the King's Coronation, which was the last of *October*; nor (which was more) to the holding of the Parliament, which began but seven Days after. It was a pestilent Fever; but, as it seem'd, not seated in the Veins or Humours; for that there followed no Carbuncle, no purple or livid Spots, or the like, the Mass of the Body being not tainted; only a malign Vapour flew to the Heart, and seiz'd the vital Spirits, which stirr'd Nature to strive to send it forth by an extream Sweat. And it appeared by Experience, that this Disease was rather a Surprise of Nature, than obstinate to Remedies, if it were in time look'd into. For if the Patient were kept in an equal Temper, both for Cloaths, Fire, and Drink, moderately warm, with temperate Cordials, whereby Nature's Work was neither irritated by Heat, nor turn'd back by Cold, he commonly recovered. But infinite Persons died of it, before the Manner of Cure and Attendance was known. It was conceiv'd not to be an Epidemick Disease, but to proceed from a Malignity in the Constitution of the Air, gathered by the Predispositions of Seasons. And the speedy Cessation declared as much.

To

To return : King *Henry*, to secure his Possession of the Throne, solemniz'd his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth* on the 18th of *January* 1486, being about five Months after his Accession ; which my Lord *Bacon* observes was a Day of greater Joy and Triumph on the People's Part, than either his first Entry or Coronation : Which he says the King rather remark'd, than lik'd ; for that all the time this Queen liv'd with him, which was about eighteen Years, he shew'd himself no very indulgent Husband to her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and fruitful.

But his Aversion to the House of *York* was so predominant, that it found Place not only in his Wars and Counsels, but even in his Chamber and Bed.

In the first Year of his Reign the Lord *Lovel* and the two *Staffords* rais'd an Insurrection : But a Pardon being offer'd their Followers, they dispers'd, and the Lord *Lovel* fled into *Flanders*. The two *Staffords* were taken, and *Humphrey* the eldest was executed as a Traytor ; the other was pardon'd. But the King continuing to discountenance the *Yorkists*, this Insurrection was no sooner suppress'd, than another was fomented. *Richard Simon*, a Priest, observing the People's Affections to the House of *York*, found a Youth, one *Lambert Simnel*, about fifteen Years of Age, whom he made at first to personate *Richard* Duke of *York*, the youngest Son of King *Edward* IV. suppos'd to be murder'd. This Prince he affirm'd was living, and had escap'd out of the *Tower*. But afterwards he thought it more for his Purpose he should represent the Person of *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, the Son of the Duke of *Clarence*, who was then Prisoner in the *Tower* ; but reported about that time to have made his Escape.

The Priest having moulded the Impostor to his Mind (being assisted, as it is supposed, by the Queen Dowager) sail'd with him into *Ireland*; where the Ministry not being alter'd since the last Reign, he was well receiv'd, and *Simmel* proclaim'd King at *Dublin*, by the Name of *Edward VI.* no Man offering to oppose him in Behalf of King *Henry*.

Hereupon the King confin'd the Queen Dowager to a Cloister, and seiz'd all her Estate and Effects: But unwilling to divulge that so near a Relation as his Wife's Mother was concern'd in the Conspiracy against him, he pretended it was for delivering her Daughters out of Sanctuary into King *Richard's* Hands, when she had before agreed to marry her Daughter *Elizabeth* to himself.

The Queen being thus depriv'd of her Estate, and almost of all Conversation, it being look'd upon as criminal to visit her, or to have any Correspondence with her, she soon after died; which created no small Murmurs and Reflections on the King, as a Piece of uncommon Barbarity to his Wife's Mother, in whose Right he held the Crown.

But the King, in order to disabuse the People, and discover the Impostor, caus'd the true Earl of *Warwick* to be shewn publickly in the Streets of *London*. Notwithstanding which, the *Irish* turn'd the Impostor upon the King, and said he had expos'd a Counterfeit: And the Earl of *Lincoln*, and the Lord *Lovel*, being assisted by the Duchefs of *Burgundy* with two thousand Men from *Flanders*, sail'd over to *Ireland*, and join'd *Lambert Simmel*: Whereupon the *Irish* proceeded to crown him. *Simmel* being thus reinforc'd by the Troops which the Earl of *Lincoln* and the Lord *Lovel* had brought over, thought himself in a Condition to make a Descent upon *England*; and accordingly he landed in *Lancashire*, and bent his March towards *York*. But the Country

Country did not join him as he expected, and King *Henry* came to an Engagement with him at *Stoke*, and entirely defeated his Army, the Earl of *Lincoln*, the Lord *Lovel*, and most of their Leaders, being kill'd in the Action; and *Lambert Simnel* himself, and the Priest his Tutor, were taken Prisoners. The Priest was committed to some obscure Prison, and never heard of more; *Simnel* was at first made one of the King's Scullions, and afterwards became his Falconer, in which Office he died. King *Henry* took a severe Account of his Adherents, and some he punish'd with Death, but more by Fines and Confiscations; by which he rais'd vast Sums. The King now finding his discountenancing the House of *York* to be the principal Occasion of the People's Uneasiness, condescended to stifle his Resentments so far, as to suffer his Queen to be crown'd about two Years after her Marriage; which strange and unusual Distance of time, my Lord *Bacon* observes, made People look upon it as an Act which went very much against his Stomach, and which he was compell'd to by Necessity and Reason of State.

The *French* King soon after invading *Bretaigne*, in order to annex it to his Crown, the Loss of which was look'd upon as dangerous to *England* then, as the Loss of *Flanders* would be at this Day, King *Henry* sent over a Body of Troops to the Duke of *Bretaigne*'s Assistance; but the Duke dying soon after, and King *Henry* withdrawing his Troops, the *French* King made himself Master of that Duchy, which he afterwards acquir'd a better Title to, by his marrying the Heiress of that House. But the Nation was a little disgusted at the King, for suffering the *French* so easily to swallow up that Principality, having given him a considerable Supply to prevent it. And it is observ'd of King *Henry*, that he seldom wanted.

wanted a Pretence for a War, which served him for a Handle to demand Supplies, the greatest Part whereof generally went into his own Pockets: His Aids were no sooner granted for the War, but his next Endeavours were to put an End to it.

Upon the levying the Taxes for the War in *Bretagne*, the People in the North of *England* still express'd their Discontents, and refus'd to pay them; and in their first Fury kill'd the Duke of *Northumberland*; but they were suppress'd without much Bloodshed.

King *Henry* having been over-reach'd and abus'd in his Treaties with the *French King*, concerning the Marriage of the Heiress of *Bretagne*, call'd a Parliament, and propos'd the reviving the *English* Claim to the Crown of *France*; which was approv'd, and Supplies given accordingly. Whereupon War was immediately denounc'd against the *French*; and the King, on the sixth Day of *October*, in the seventh Year of his Reign, embark'd for *Calais*, with an Army of about thirty thousand Men, and laid Siege to *Bologne*. The *English* had lain before the Town about a Month, and were preparing for a general Assault, when, to the Surprise of all that were not in the Secret, News was brought that a Peace was concluded. It seems the Conditions were, that the *French King* should pay King *Henry* in hand 745000 Crowns, besides an annual Tribute of 25000 Crowns. The Ministry, and Courtiers too, receiv'd considerable Presents and Pensions from the *French King* for advising it: But the Nobility and great Men, who had sold their Estates in order to attend the King in this Expedition, in hopes of greater Acquisitions in *France*; and the Commons, who had given large Supplies, in hopes of seeing the *British* Dominions extended on that Side; shewed great Dissatisfaction at the mercenary Proceeding. They said the King

had plunder'd his People to enrich himself; and that he had literally made good what he said on his asking Supplies of the Parliament, *That when the War was once begun he would make it pay itself.*

While the King was engag'd in this Expedition, a new Impostor was set up against him by the Dukes of *Burgundy* and the *French King*, whose Name was *Perkin Warbeck*. He was to represent the Duke of *York*, the younger Son of *Edward IV.* who it was said had escaped out of the *Tower*.

What induc'd the Dukes of *Burgundy* to this Undertaking, was her confirmed Hatred of King *Henry* for his depressing the House of *York*; and the *French King* had readily join'd in the Design, as a Means to divert the War from his own Doors. It seems the Nobility were still in doubt, whether the real Duke of *York* was living; and being disgusted with the Treatment they received from the King, who took all Opportunities of reducing their Power, they sent over *Sir Robert Clifford* to the Dukes of *Burgundy*, to discover if this was the very Duke of *York*, who assured them that this was really he: Whereupon several of the Nobility enter'd into the Conspiracy, who were afterwards betray'd by *Clifford*; and among the rest, *Sir William Stanley*, the Lord Chamberlain, who first set the Crown upon King *Henry's* Head. This Gentleman was arraign'd of High Treason, condemn'd and executed; tho' 'tis said King *Henry*, in consideration of his great Services, was once determin'd to have pardon'd him; and it is generally thought his Wealth was his greatest Enemy, and the principal Occasion of his Ruin. The Lord *Fitzwater*, *Sir Simon Montfort*, and several other of the Conspirators, also were executed, before the Design was brought to any Head.

These

These Severities occasion'd the King to be reflect-
ed on, and his Administration to be revil'd and li-
bell'd: But he soon put a Stop to these Practices,
by hanging up five Persons that were concern'd in
contriving and dispersing them.

About the tenth Year of this Reign, Sir *Edward Poyning's* caus'd the *English* Laws to be receiv'd in *Ireland*, by a Statute pass'd in that Parliament; from whence that Act has obtain'd the Denomination of *Poyning's* Law.

Notwithstanding the ill Success of *Perkin's* Ad-
herents he ventur'd afterwards to land in *Kent*;
but was soon oblig'd to re-embark, with the loss of
many of his Followers. He afterwards apply'd to
the King of *Scots* for Assistance, who receiv'd him
very kindly, and married him to his nearest Kins-
woman, the Lady *Katherine Gordon*; which is very
surprising, if he really was an Impostor. But let
that be as it will, King *Henry* made his Advantages
of it, and had a Subsidy granted for a War with
Scotland. The levying this Tax occasion'd another
Insurrection in *Cornwall*; and the Rebels, being led by
the Lord *Audley*, march'd up almost to the Gates of
London without Opposition, which put the City in-
to a great Consternation; but being most of them a
rude unarm'd Rabble, the King's Forces easily de-
feated them; their General, the Lord *Audley*, was
taken and beheaded; and two other of their Leaders
were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd.

A Truce being concluded with *Scotland*, *Perkin*
was oblig'd to leave that Kingdom, and embark
with his Followers in three Ships for *Ireland*; from
whence he was invited into *Cornwall*, and afterwards
laid Siege to *Exeter*; but for want of Artillery was
obliged to raise the Siege; and despairing of Suc-
cess, he fled to Sanctuary at *Bewley*; where the
King offering him a Pardon, he surrender'd him-
self,

self, and was brought to Court. The King caus'd him to be led through the Streets of *London*, and to read an Account of his Pedigree and Travels; which whether his own, or dictated to him, I shall not enquire. He was afterwards committed to the *Tower*; where 'tis said he and the Earl of *Warwick* contriv'd to make their Escape; and thereupon *Perkin* was tortur'd, expos'd to the People in the Stocks, and afterwards hang'd at *Tyburn*; and the Earl of *Warwick* was beheaded, who had been imprison'd so long, that 'tis reported he did not know a Duck from a Hen; and, consequently, could not be very dangerous to the Government. This is therefore look'd upon as an Act of the highest Cruelty and Injustice in King *Henry*, to put to Death an innocent Prince, whose only Crime was his being related to the House of *York*. And the Reason King *Henry* gave for this Execution, does not at all extenuate the Guilt, namely, *That the King of Spain would not marry the Infanta to Prince Arthur, while the Earl of Warwick liv'd; because he might one Day interrupt the Succession.*

In the 17th Year of this Reign Prince *Arthur* married the Infanta of *Spain*; but dying soon after, she was married to his Brother *Henry VIII.* In the Year 1503, King *Henry* married his eldest Daughter *Margaret* to *James IV.* King of *Scots.* And now having secured himself by Executions at home, and Alliances abroad, he gave himself up to his most predominant Vice of Covetousness: He employed two Lawyers, *Richard Empson* and *Edward Dudley*, Men eminent in their Profession, to put all the obsolete and antiquated Laws and Statutes in execution; and to wrest the Meaning and Intention of others, in order to drain the Purses of his Subjects: And such Judges as would not countenance the Extortion of his Emiffaries, were fin'd, imprison'd, and displac'd.

The

King HENRY VII.

211

The Earl of *Suffolk*, and many of the Nobility, being still discontented to find themselves neglected and discountenane'd, enter'd into another Conspiracy against the King, in the twentieth Year of his Reign. The Earl fled to *Flanders*, designing to reside there till things were ripe: Whereupon the King order'd the Governor of *Hammes-Castle* near *Calais*, to desert over to him, and discover his Designs and Accomplices; which he having effected, several great Men were imprisoned, and some executed. And thus the King having secur'd himself, had again Recourse to his usual Arts to raise Money: He procur'd a Subsidy of the Parliament; and before the Year was expir'd, he issued a Commission for a Benevolence, and had five thousand Marks of the City of *London*, for the Confirmation of their Privileges; and many other ways he found out of heaping up and amassing Treasure, so that he became exceeding rich.

In the 22d Year of this Reign, the Arch-Duke *Philip* sailing from *Flanders*, to take Possession of the Kingdom of *Spain*, happen'd to be driven upon the Coast of *England*; and tho' King *Henry*, in other respects treated the Arch-Duke with all possible Civility, yet he made him consent to deliver up the Earl of *Suffolk*, on Condition his Life should be spar'd, before he would suffer him to proceed on his Voyage. And tho' King *Henry* so far kept his Promise, as not to put the Earl to Death himself, he left it in command with his Son, upon his Death-bed, not to suffer the Earl to escape; which, how disingenuous and cruel soever it might appear, possibly he thought justifiable by a Scripture Precedent, being much the same Case with that of *David* and *Shimei*.

It is computed that at his Death he left a Million and eight hundred thousand Pounds in his Treasury,

and the Crown clear of Debts; but 'tis said he was so sensible of the Extortions of his Officers, that he order'd Restitution to be made of what they had unjustly taken, by his Will.

Having taken a Review of this Prince's Reign, it may not be unacceptable to the Reader to add some Remarks and Reflections of my Lord Bacon's upon his Reign and Character.

The Lord
Bacon's Re-
flections on
the Reign
and Charac-
ter of Henry
VII.

His Lordship observes, that he built and endow'd many religious and charitable Foundations.

He observes also, that tho' he lov'd Peace, he was always prepar'd for War, and would make a Shew of it, in order to obtain the better Terms.

That he was very clear-sighted, and saw far, considering the Darknes of the Times he liv'd in.

That against all Insurrections he went himself in Person, and was ever victorious.

He observes, that the Council-Table was a perfect Court of Justice in this Reign, and intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*; but that Justice was duly administred, *where the King was not a Party*.

That considering the many Insurrections in his Reign, he may be accounted a merciful Prince, having executed but three Noblemen in cold Blood, *viz.* the Lord Chamberlain, *Warwick*, and *Audley*. But the less Blood he drew, he observes, he took the more of their Treasure.

He says, he kept all Men at a great Distance, not admitting any near or full Approach either to his Power or his Secrets; for he was govern'd by none; he had neither he or the Favourite.

That he kept State and Majesty to the Height, as being necessary to induce Submission; but was not vain-glorious.

That he us'd all Means to procure good Intelligence, and was Master of the Secrets of all Courts and

King HENRY VII.

213

and Factions, while he himself remain'd in the dark to them: And he did not spare even to prostitute Religion itself, to compass his Designs, and discover the Intrigues of his Enemies.

That he car'd not how subtle his Ministers were, having the Master-reach himself. But what is much to be admir'd, he says, he was serv'd so faithfully, that he did not displace one Minister, except the Lord Chamberlain, in all his Reign. He says, that he was of a suspicious inquisitive Temper, and more fear'd than lov'd by his Subjects; but yet of a very insinuating Behaviour, to bring about any Design he had fix'd upon: That he was not given to Pleasures, but made them subservient to his Interests; and that he had no great Share of Learning, tho' he understood Men and Things admirably well.

In the Life of this Prince we see great Endowments intermix'd with as great Failings. And tho' my Lord *Bacon* thinks he had no Vain-glory in him, to what else can we impute that impolitick Procedure in the Beginning of his Reign, in slighting his Queen, whose Title alone kept the Crown upon his Head; and discountenancing and depressing the *Yorkists*, who were the greatest Part of the Nation, for Quality as well as Numbers? Was it not an Ambition to be thought to reign in his own Right, and his Prejudice to the *Yorkists*, that occasion'd those many Insurrections in his Reign? And it is highly probable he had never met with any Opposition, if he had govern'd his Subjects with an equal Hand.

Again, is it not apparent that his natural Propension to Mercy, which our Historians take notice of, and even the Honour and Religion they ascribe to him, were made to give place to his Interest, whenever it came in Competition with any of them?

What Colour was there? what Excuse can be fram'd for his putting the innocent Earl of *Warwick* to Death? And what can be said in Defence of the Practice of betraying People into their Ruin by his Emissaries, who were instructed to say or do any thing, in order to gain Confidence with his Enemies; especially when we see him procuring Excommunications against those Persons as Traitors, whom he knew to be most firmly in his Interest, and were at that very Instant executing his Commands? What great Opinion can we, after this, entertain of his Religion? And his constantly employing Informers and Pettifoggers, to wrest and strain the penal Laws to the Destruction of his People, and gratify his avaricious Temper, can give us no great Opinion of his Justice.

But as I have given a Sketch of the dark Side of his Character, I shall take some notice of the other. And first, he appears to be a Prince of great Penetration and indefatigable Diligence; he saw as little as possible with other People's Eyes, examin'd Matters himself, and was never influenc'd by Favourites. And he made such a wise Choice of his Ministers, that he had never occasion to displace any of them, but the Lord Chamberlain; and, consequently, was never betray'd by any of them.

But what was most commendable in him, and most beneficial to his Subjects, was his unalterable Love of Peace, and the Measures he took to procure it; and that was not by making such Concessions as were prejudicial to his People, but by shewing he was in a Condition to do them and himself Justice. And he certainly did the Kingdom more Service in that Peace he made with *France*, for which he is so much reflected on, than *Henry V.* when he, in much the same Circumstances, entail'd on them a thirty Years War.

And

King HENRY VII.

315

And if it should be admitted, that he did put part of those Supplies in his Pocket, which he sometimes demanded towards a War, the Nation might very well forgive him; for, by being thus supply'd, he humbled his Enemies with the Terror of his Preparations, procur'd immediate Satisfaction, and prevented a lingring War. And tho' he was engag'd in several Wars and Contests at home and abroad, yet they being but of a short Duration, Trade flourish'd, and the People in general grew rich under his Administration; though it must be acknowledg'd, that both King and People might have been much happier under so wise a Prince, if it had not been for his confirm'd and inveterate Prejudice to the House of York.



HENRY VIII.



HENRY VIII. the second, but only surviving Son of *Henry VII.* by the Lady *Elizabeth*, eldest Daughter of King *Edward IV.* succeeded to the Throne. He was crown'd on *Midsummer Day*, 1509. No Objection having ever been made to this Prince's Title, I shall proceed to give an Account of his Marriages and Issue.

1509.
His Title.

He had six Wives. The first was the Princess *Katherine*, Infanta of *Spain*, Daughter of *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, and Relict of Prince *Arthur*, his eldest Brother, to whom she had been married about five Months. King *Henry VIII.* solemniz'd his Marriage

His Marriages and Issue.

riage with this Princess on the third of *June*, about six Weeks after his Accession.

He had Issue by this Wife two Sons, who died soon after they were born; and one Daughter, named *Mary*, afterwards Queen of *England*.

King *Henry* being divorced from Queen *Katherine*, (of which I shall speak more particularly hereafter) married a second Wife, viz. the Lady *Anne Bullen*, Daughter of *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*, one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Katherine*. By this second Wife King *Henry* had Issue a Daughter, named *Elizabeth*, who was afterwards Queen of *England*. Her Mother, Queen *Anne*, being charg'd with Incontinence, was arraign'd for High-Treason, and afterwards beheaded; of which hereafter.

Soon after the Execution of *Anne Bullen*, the King married a third Wife, viz. the Lady *Jane Seymour*, Daughter of Sir *John Seymour*, by whom he had Issue only one Son named *Edward*, who afterwards succeeded him.

Queen *Jane* dying in Childbed of her Son *Edward*, King *Henry* married *Anne* of *Cleve*, Sister to *William* Duke of *Cleve*; but entertaining an Aversion to her, he procur'd a Divorce, and married the Lady *Katherine Howard*, his fifth Wife, who was Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*. This Lady, being charg'd with Incontinence, he beheaded about three Months after he married her.

His sixth Wife was the Lady *Katherine Par*, Daughter of Sir *Thomas Par*, and Widow and Relict of *John Nevil* Lord *Latimer*. This Lady surviv'd the King, but had no Issue by him.

His Age and
Death.

King *Henry* died on the 28th Day of *January*, in the 56th Year of his Age, and 38th Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 1547.

His Character.

Our Author says he had all the Qualifications of Nature and Education, with no less Perfections of

Body

Body and Mind. His Person was extraordinary tall and majestick, of a mighty Strength and Activity; his Looks great and surprizing, and his whole Countenance bespoke the Monarch: His Mind was still more capacious than his Body, vigorous and vast, his Temper generous and fiery, his Spirit magnanimous and invincible, and his Judgment profound and penetrating; so that, with all his Failings, he was every way a proper Instrument to effect those amazing Works design'd by Providence. As to Matters of State, never Prince proceeded upon truer Maxims for this Kingdom, which was to make himself Arbiter of *Europe*; in which, instead of being a bare Spectator, he was so much an Actor, that there was no Treaty, or State Assembly in Christendom, in which he had not his particular Agent and Interest, which was one of his extraordinary Ways of spending Money. At home it was his manner to treat much with his Parliaments, where he sometimes made use of rough Methods; yet none of his Predecessors understood the Temper of Parliaments better than himself, or more dexterously prevail'd upon such a numerous Body. His Disposition was certainly very aspiring, and his Ambition very extensive; which, by means of Flattery and ill Counsel, in the latter part of his Reign, produc'd Effects very formidable to his Subjects: So that he has been too justly charg'd with Cruelty, Rapaciousness, and Lust; all which have been unmeasurably aggravated by his Enemies, whose Numbers were very great. His Cruelties appear, both from the Number and Manner of the Executions in his Reign, which were generally towards the latter end of it, at a time when he had met with insufferable Provocations and Oppositions, and when less Severities might probably have ruin'd him and all his Designs: And really

really it is extraordinary wonderful, that such Alterations in the Nation should be made with so little Bloodshed. His Rapaciousness appears from his sacrilegious swallowing such vast Quantities of Church Revenues. To palliate which, besides its being done by the Representatives of the Nation, it has been alledg'd, that the religious Orders of the Kingdom would have assisted those who threaten'd Invasion from abroad; and that he had no other means, but their Revenues, left to defend himself. However, he had laid noble Designs for Reparation; and though he accidentally fell short of them, yet he actually founded six Bishopricks, endowed Deaneries, Prebends, and other Offices, in fourteen several Sees; and founded *Christ-Church-Hospital, Trinity-College in Cambridge*, Professors in both Universities, and many *Grammar Schools*. As to his Lusts, they are as much aggravated as any other of his Vices, of which the Number of his Wives are but a weak insignificant Proof. Fornication in Princes is never to be excus'd by a Christian Politician; yet this may be alledg'd for him, that he was not so exorbitant as many other Princes; and we find but one Mistress that he kept, which was in his younger Years, when encouraged by a Churchman and indulgent Confessor. It is true, the general Steps he made were sometimes bold and desperate; yet, with all his Crimes and Exorbitances, he was one of the most glorious Princes of his Time: And if his Crimes were still greater, it would be no just Aspersions upon the Reformation he effected, since Providence often brings about the noblest Designs by the most exceptionable Instruments, when the best of Men have been deny'd that Honour. In short, as his Reign affords the greatest Varieties, so in his Character there was a wonderful Mixture of Virtues and Vices; and the Hand of Heaven seem'd to lie

lie heavy upon him and his Family; for notwithstanding all his extraordinary Methods to obtain Posterity, and his peculiar Establishments of the Succession, from six several Wives, he was not able to produce one Grand-child.

This Reign being of a considerable Length, and replenish'd with a great variety of Events, I shall only touch upon the most considerable Transactions of it, in order to form a Character of this Prince.

A Review of
the Reign of
Henry VIII.

Having solemnized his Marriage with the Princess *Katherine* about six Weeks after his Accession, he proceeded to punish the Instruments of his Father's Extortions, namely *Empsom* and *Dudley*, who were attainted and executed as Traitors; tho' they insisted in their Defence, that they had only put the Laws in execution, in obedience to the Commands of the late King. Their under Agents were not so severely dealt with, being only pillory'd, fin'd, and imprison'd.

This was a most popular Act in the King in the beginning of his Reign; and it would have been much more so, had he restor'd what had been unjustly taken, as he promis'd: But most of that prodigious Treasure, his Father had by this means acquire'd, he spent, as young Heirs generally do, in Shews, Jufts, Masks, Revels, and such like Diversions, which he was most extravagantly fond of.

In the mean while he did not seem to be altogether unmindful of Affairs of State; for he vigorously prosecuted a War in *France*, and took several Towns on the Frontiers, the most considerable whereof were *Terowen* and *Tournay*. But before the King invaded *France*, for the securing his Dominions at home, he caus'd the Earl of *Suffolk* to be beheaded, who had been many Years Prisoner in the *Tower*. This Gentleman, as appears before, was nearly related

lated to the House of *York*; and being suspected of Designs against the late King, had fled into *Flanders*, and was delivered up by the Arch-Duke, on a Promise of sparing his Life; and, contrary to all good Faith, was now sacrific'd on those most accursed and detested Principles, which go under the Name of *Reason of State*.

Scotland, according to ancient Usage, endeavour'd to make a Diversion in favour of the *French*; but the Earl of *Surrey*, the King's General, obtain'd a signal Victory over them at *Floddon-field*, King *James IV.* Brother-in-Law to King *Henry*, being kill'd in the Action.

In the fifth Year of this Reign, *A. D.* 1514, a Peace was concluded with *France*; and, in pursuance of one of the Articles, the Princess *Mary*, the King's youngest Sister, was married to *Lewis* the *French* King; who dying within three Months after the Marriage, she married again in less than a Year to *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, a Favourite of King *Henry's*.

In the sixth Year of the King, *Thomas Woolsey*, the King's 'Almoner, who, from a Butcher's Son of *Ipswich*, had, by his Parts and Dexterity, arriv'd to be a Dignitary in the Church, and a Minister of State, began to ingross his Prince's Favour. On the taking of *Tournay*, he was made Bishop of that City; and a little after, of *Lincoln*; and this Year Archbishop of *York*, Cardinal, and Legate *a latere*, by which he had the Superiority of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*: And, indeed, as he was prime Minister at the same time, he had the whole Clergy and Laity of the Kingdom at his Devotion. The King indulg'd his youthful Inclinations, pursu'd his Pleasures and pompous way of Living, and seem'd to leave the weighty Affairs of State entirely to the Cardinal; whom he would he advanc'd, and whom he

he would he ruined: And having obtain'd a Bull from the Pope to visit all the Monasteries and Clergy of *England*, and to dispense with all Church Laws for a Year, he erected a Court call'd the Legate's Court; where he made strict Enquiries into the Lives of the Ecclesiasticks, encouraged Informations against them, and by this means extorted immense Sums from the Clergy.

A Treaty being set on foot between *England* and *France* in the 10th of his Reign, it was agreed, that the Dauphin should marry the Princess *Mary*, and *Tournay* be restor'd to the *French*; but upon parting with the Bishoprick, the Cardinal stipulated to have an annual Sum of 12,000 Livres *Tournois* in the room of it.

It was about this time, viz. the Year 1518, that *Martin Luther* began the Reformation in *Germany*. The following Year *Charles* King of *Spain*, and *Francis* the *French* King, stood Candidates for the Empire; and the King of *Spain* was elected. This made them mortal Enemies, and great Preparations for War were made, and Alliances enter'd into by each of them. Both Princes courted *Woolsey*, and sent him continual Presents; but the Emperor's Interest, as well as Presents, being most considerable, the Cardinal is said to incline to that Side.

The Emperor came into *England* in the Year 1520, in order to enter into a stricter Alliance with this Crown; and the same Year the *French* King obtain'd an Interview with King *Henry* near *Guisnes*, where the two Kings entertain'd one another with Jufts and Tournaments, the usual Exercises and Diversions of the great Men of those Times, wherein both Kings are said to have shewn great Dexterity and Valour: But as it was good Manners in their Opponents to suffer themselves to be handsomely beaten, we see the crown'd Heads constantly crown'd with Victory.

King

King *Henry* being return'd to *England*, to shew he was no less Master of his Pen than his Sword, wrote a Book against *Luther*, and presented it to Pope *Leo*: whereupon his Holiness gave, or rather confirm'd to him the Title of *Defender of the Faith*. And tho' this Prince was vain enough in other respects, yet there was no Accomplishment he valu'd himself so much upon, as his Learning and his Talent at Writing; and was seldom shock'd at the grossest Pieces of Flattery that were offer'd him on these Occasions. And our Author observes, that not only his Courtiers, but his Parliaments and Convocations, the Clergy and Laity, seem'd to vie with one another in magnifying his great Abilities, and us'd to address him in Language fitter for the Deity than a mortal Man.

But while the King was thus wrapt up in the Contemplation of his own Perfections, and in a Belief that he was as much superior to the rest of Mankind in the Endowments of his Mind, as he was in Quality and Fortune, *Woolsey* govern'd the State without Controul; and the unfortunate Duke of *Bucks*, indiscreetly reflecting on the haughty Arrogance of this proud Priest, drew on him a Prosecution for High-Treason, and fell a Victim to his Malice. He was try'd by his Peers, convicted and executed for Designs against the Government, which no Man ever thought him guilty of; and the Proof consisted of some loose unguarded Expressions, rather jocular than dangerous. But it was enough, in that Reign, to be mark'd out by a prime Minister for a Traitor: Destruction certainly ensued; neither Peers or Parliaments ever hesitated to compliment their Prince with any Head his Ministers demanded. With this Nobleman's Life determin'd the Place of High-Constable of *England*, which has not been reviv'd since.

In the Year 1521 Cardinal *Woolsey* went over to *Calais*, to mediate a Peace between *France* and the Emperor, but to no effect. During the Cardinal's Stay at *Calais* he kept the Great Seal of *England* with him there, being at that time Lord Chancellor; and thither all Writs and Patents, which requir'd the Great Seal, were sent to be sealed. Pope *Leo* dying a little after, the Cardinal made great Application to the Emperor for his Interest to be elected Pope; but *Adrian*, Cardinal of *Tortosa*, and Tutor to *Charles* the Emperor, was elected.

There happening a Rupture between *England* and *France* in the Year 1522, the Emperor came over into *England*, and enter'd into a new Alliance with King *Henry*. The King being about to declare War against *France*, caus'd a Survey to be made of all the Lands in *England*, much in the Nature of *Doomsday*, in order to get an Account of the Wealth and Estates of his Subjects, which when he had receiv'd, he sent out Commissions to demand Money of them by way of Loan; but this not answering his Expectations, he call'd a Parliament in the Year 1523, which was the only one he had called in seven Years. The Convocation was assembled at the same time, and gave the one half of their Revenues towards the War, to be paid in five Years: The Parliament gave three Shillings in the Pound, to be paid in four Years by those who had Estates of fifty Pounds a Year, and two Shillings in the Pound on those whose Estates were under that Value. Then the Parliament was dissolv'd, and no other called in seven Years after.

King *Henry*, in pursuance of his Alliance with the Emperor, sent over a Body of Troops, under the Command of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to join his Forces in the *Low-Countries*, and march into *France*; which they did with good Success, and advanc'd

within eleven Leagues of *Paris*; but the Emperor's Army not being duly paid, they were forc'd to retire, and abandon all their Conquests. Pope *Adrian* dying about this time, Cardinal *Woolsey* made another Attempt to mount the Papal Chair; but was disappointed, and *Julio Medici* elected Pope, by the Name of *Clement VII.* But tho' the Cardinal fail'd in that Attempt, he procur'd of the new Pope to have his Legantine Power enlarg'd in *England*, and continu'd to him for Life; and he also obtain'd a Bull empowering him to dissolve some of the lesser Monasteries, in order to erect two Colleges, one at *Ipswich*, the Place of his Nativity, and the other at *Oxford.*

In the 16th Year of this Reign Commissions were issued for levying a sixth part of the Goods of the Laity, and a fourth of the Clergy; which so disgusted the People, that it had lik'd to have occasion'd an Insurrection; whereupon the King contented himself with a Benevolence.

The Cardinal, by the multitude of the Temporal and Ecclesiastical Employments and Offices which he held, but principally by the Extortions of his Officers in the Legate's Courts, and his Visitation of Monasteries, acquired such Wealth, that his Treasure was look'd upon as equal to the King's: And that his Majesty might take the less notice of it, he constantly indulg'd and promoted his Pleasures, and gave him to understand he had left him the greatest part of it in his Will; and gave the King the fine Palace he had built at *Hampton-Court.*

The Princess *Mary* having been offer'd in Marriage to the Dauphin, and the Emperor, had given occasion to those Courts to enquire into the Legality of her Father King *Henry's* Marriage with her Mother Queen *Katherine*, from whence it is supposed the King took the first Hint of scrupling the Validity

dity of it himself. But however that Matter be, in the Year 1528 the King desir'd the Opinion of the *English* Bishops upon that Subject; and all of them, except Dr. *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, declar'd, by a Writing under their Hands, that his Marriage with his Brother's Wife was unlawful.

Having this Encouragement to hope for a Separation, and the Queen being become unacceptable to him, on account of some Diseases ſhe had contracted, and the little likelihood there was of having any Male Iſſue by her; but above all, being taken with the Beauty of *Anne Bullen*, one of her Maids, he applyed to the Pope for a Divorce; and at his Inſtance Cardinal *Campegio* was diſpatch'd to *England*, to hear the Cauſe jointly with Cardinal *Woolſey*; and he brought over with him a decretal Bull for annulling the Marriage, which he ſhew'd the King, but would not ſuffer it to be communicated to others: And 'tis ſaid the Legates had ſecret Inſtructions not to determine any thing: However, a Court was formally erected, and the King and Queen cited to appear, which they did in Perſon; but the Queen proteſted againſt the Legates, as incompetent Judges, and withdrew out of Court, and never appear'd there any more, but appeal'd to the Pope. The Court, notwithstanding, proceeded to examine Witneſſes, as if they really intended to come to ſome Determination; but unexpectedly the Pope ſent over Letters of Avocation, and put an end to the Legates Powers; and a Citation came over for the King to appear at *Rome*, which he would not ſuffer to be publiſhed.

The King finding himſelf abus'd, and that nothing was ever really intended by all this formal Proceſs, which had put him to a vaſt Expence, reſolv'd to revenge himſelf upon *Woolſey*, who had concurr'd with *Campegio*, in delaying and avoiding

the coming to any Determination, till the Letters of Avocation arriv'd. The first Instance of his Displeasure against *Woolsey* he discover'd in taking from him the Great Seal, and giving it to Sir *Thomas More*. Soon after an Information was laid against him, and he was adjudged to have incurred a *Premunire*, in procuring Bulls from *Rome*, and executing his Legantine Power by an Authority deriv'd from that See; and, in pursuance of this Judgment, his Palace, call'd *York-House*, now *White-hall*, and all his immense Riches and Effects, were seiz'd to the King's Use: However, he was permitted to enjoy the Bishopricks of *York* and *Winchester*, and as many of his Goods were restor'd him, as amounted to six thousand Pounds. This Appearance of returning Favour the Cardinal was infinitely transported with; but did not rejoice in it long; for being retir'd to his Palace at *York*, he was some Months afterwards arrested there for High-Treason, and ordered to the *Tower*, but died on the Road to *London*.

Notwithstanding the many Faults imputed to this great Minister, our Historians seem to admit that the Nation was much happier during his Administration, than it was afterwards.

Soon after the Fall of *Woolsey*, Dr. *Cranmer* came upon the Stage. His Rise is attributed to the Advice he gave the King to procure the Opinion of the foreign Universities, as to the Validity of his Marriage with his Brother's Widow; for if it should prove to be the general Opinion that it was contrary to the Law of God, he held that no Dispensation of the Pope could establish it.

The Decisions of the foreign Universities answer'd the King's Expectations; and the King procur'd a Letter to the Pope from the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, representing the Hardness of his Case; and threatening, unless some Dispatch was made in
his

his Suit, they should find out another Remedy to relieve him.

The Convocation, and the two Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, concurr'd with the foreign Universities in the Illegality of the King's Marriage: But this did not save the Clergy from a Prosecution, for submitting to the Legantine Authority, and breaking the Statutes of Provisors; whereby they were adjudg'd to have incurr'd a *Premunire*, and were forc'd to pay the King 100,000 Pounds to obtain their Pardon; notwithstanding they urg'd that the King himself had encourag'd *Woolsey's* Legantine Power; and therefore it was hard they should be punish'd for obeying it.

On the 14th of *July*, 1531, the King thought fit finally to separate himself from Queen *Katherine*, after she had liv'd with him as his Wife two and twenty Years.

The next Year the King procur'd an Act of Parliament against the paying any more First-fruits or Annates to *Rome*. On the other side, the Pope wrote to the King, complaining, that notwithstanding a Suit was depending concerning his Marriage, he had put away his Queen, and kept *Anne Bullen* as his Wife, contrary to a Prohibition serv'd on him, and required him to live with his Queen, and put away the other; and cited the King to appear at *Rome* in Person, or by Proxy.

The King sent Sir *Edward Karne* and Dr. *Bonner* to *Rome* to excuse his Appearance; but a very little after going over to *France* to an Interview with *Francis* the *French* King, he took over Mrs. *Bullen* with him, and married her at *Calais*.

In the Year 1533, an Act of Parliament was made, prohibiting all Appeals to *Rome*; but the Pope was so complaisant notwithstanding, as to grant a Bull for the consecrating Dr. *Cranmer* Arch-

bishop of *Canterbury*; which was the last Bull of that nature that was receiv'd in *England*. The Archbishop was no sooner consecrated, but a formal Process was begun before him concerning the Legality of the King's Marriage with the Princess *Katherine*; and he gave Sentence, that the Marriage was null and void from the beginning, and both Parties at Liberty to marry: Tho' this Judgment seems to come a little of the latest, the King being already married to *Anne Bullen*, who was about this time brought to Bed of the Princess *Elizabeth*, afterwards Queen of *England*.

The Pope hearing of Dr. *Cranmer's* Sentence, was highly incens'd at it, and formally annulled it at *Rome*.

But notwithstanding all the Provocations that had been given on both Sides, Things were very near being accommodated between the Courts of *Rome* and *England*; and the Pope had agreed to give Sentence for the King, provided he would return to the Obedience of that See. And the King accordingly made a formal Submission in Writing; but the Courier being retarded in his Journey by bad Ways, the Winds, and other Accidents; and the Imperial Faction pressing to have the Affair speedily dispatch'd, under Pretence that the King remain'd obstinate, Sentence was given against the King but two Days before the Courier arriv'd with his Submission; nor could the Consistory be prevail'd with to re-hear the Cause.

The King was so provok'd by this Usage, that he pass'd an Act for abrogating the Pope's Authority; and another, declaring himself supreme Head of the Church of *England*. By these Acts great part of the Power of that See was devolv'd upon the King. The Convocation also concurr'd with the Parliament, in reducing the Pope's Power, and establishing the King's Supremacy. An

An Act also pass'd, confirming the Sentence annulling the King's Marriage, and settling the Succession of the Crown.

By this Act, the King's Marriage with the Princess *Katherine* is adjudg'd to be void, and the Separation valid, and the King's Marriage with Queen *Anne* just and lawful: Marriages within the Degrees prohibited by *Moses* are declared to be void, and that no Man hath Power to dispense with God's Law; and that Persons then married within those Degrees should be separated, and their Issue adjudged illegitimate.

That the Children between the King and Queen *Anne* should be held legitimate; and the Crown was entail'd first on the Male-Issue of the said Marriage, Remainder to the Lady *Elizabeth* their Daughter, and the other Female Issue of the said Marriage, according to their Seniority, Remainder to the King's right Heirs.

And it was made Treason to write against the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage, or the Succession of the Crown, as hereby limited; and Misprision of Treason to speak against them.

And an Oath was required to be taken to maintain and defend the Contents of this Act, viz. the Unlawfulness of the King's Marriage with the Princess *Katherine*, the Lawfulness of the King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of Bullen, and the Succession of the Crown as hereby limited. The Refusers of the Oath to be adjudg'd guilty of Misprision of Treason.

The Lord Chancellor *More*, and Bishop *Fisher*, refusing to take the Oath in the Act of Succession, were committed to Prison, where the old Bishop was used very barbarously. They did not scruple swearing to the Succession, it seems, as limited by Parliament; but the declaring the King's first Marriage

riage unlawful, when the Pope had determined otherwise.

Another Act was made in this Parliament, whereby it was Treason to deny the King's Titles or Supremacy, or to call him Heretick, or Schismatick. Upon this Act several Persons were committed and executed; and among the rest Bishop *Fisher* and Sir *Thomas More*; the last but upon very slender Evidence; his very Silence in the Matter of the Supremacy was made one Proof of his denying it. And as the Supremacy was then explained and practised, it was pretty difficult for any Man to subscribe to it; for the King seem'd to claim a Power equal to Christ himself, when he issued Commissions to the Bishops to ordain, consecrate, and administer the Sacraments, and perform all other Parts of their spiritual Function. The Church was now indeed a Creature of the State, and the Religion of those Days not improperly stil'd a Parliamentary Religion.

And the King did not only look upon himself as Supreme Head of the Church in the most extended Sense, but that he had Power to delegate this Authority to whom he pleas'd; and accordingly made *Cromwell* his Vicar General, and afterwards Vicegerent; by virtue whereof he took Place of the Archbishops and Bishops, as well as the Lay Nobility.

A general Visitation of the Monasteries was also begun about this time, and many of them by Threats and other Means were induc'd to surrender their Charters: And the next Year, viz. A.D. 1536, an Act of Parliament was made for suppressing all the lesser Monasteries, and giving their Revenues to the King; and another soon after for suppressing the greater.

In this Year, 1536, happen'd the Disgrace and Destruction of Queen *Anne Bullen*. Our Protestant Historians impute it to the King's Lust, or Reason of State, or both.

They say, that Queen *Katherine* being dead, Queen *Anne* was now the only Ground of the Controversy between the King, and the Pope, and Emperor: And that if she was dispatch'd, the King would easily reconcile himself to *Rome*, and the Emperor; and the Issue he should have by a third Wife would be held on all Hands to be legitimate. They say also, that the King had already cast his Eyes upon the Lady *Jane Seymour*, and was determined to remove all Obstacles to his Enjoyment of her. But however that be, Queen *Anne* was committed to the *Tower*, arraigned, and convicted by her Peers of High Treason, in being false to the King's Bed. (Nor dar'd the Peers have determined any thing against the King's Inclination at that time of Day, if he had brought any of their own Wives to the Bar.) But this did not satisfy King *Henry*: He made the obsequious Dr. *Cranmer* pronounce Sentence for annulling the Marriage between her and the King, by reason of a Precontract with the Earl of *Northumberland*: Though had this last Sentence been just, the other ought not to have been executed. For how could she be guilty of Treason, in being false to the King's Bed, when by the Archbishop's Sentence she was only his Mistress, and actually Wife to another Man? And it must be acknowledg'd King *Henry* gave the World sufficient Reason to believe the worst that has been suggested on this Occasion, by marrying the Lady *Jane Seymour* the Day after Queen *Anne* was beheaded.

Another Instance of this King's Tyranny, tho' not quite so tragical, was the compelling his Daughter the Princess *Mary* to acknowledge him
Supreme

Supreme Head of the Church, and that his Marriage with her Mother was incestuous; both which Points he knew to be directly contrary to her Opinion.

After this he bully'd his mean-spirited Parliament into a new Act of Succession. This Act recites, That there were many lawful Impediments, unknown at the making of the Act of Succession 25 *Hen. VIII. c. 22.* which since that time were confess'd by the Lady *Anne*, before *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sitting judicially for the same; by reason of which Impediments, the King's Marriage with her was never good, nor consonant to the Laws; and therefore Queen *Elizabeth* was declared illegitimate: And it was declared Treason for any Man to judge or believe the Marriage between the King and the Lady *Katharine*, or *Anne*, to be good, lawful, or of any effect. It was also in this Act declared Treason for any one to take, accept, name, or call any of the Children, born and procreate under these unlawful Marriages, legitimate, or lawful Children of the King. And therefore the Crown was settled upon the King and his Heirs Male by his lawful Queen *Jane*; and for want of such Issue by her, upon his Heirs Male by any other lawful Wife; and for Want of Heirs Males, upon his Heirs Females by Queen *Jane*, or any other lawful Wife. And for lack of lawful Heirs of his Body to be procreated and begotten, as is limited by this Act, to such Person and Persons in Possession and Remainder as should please the King; and according to such Estate, and after such Manner, Form, Fashion, Order, and Condition, as should be expressed, declared, named, and limited by his Letters Patents, or by his last Will. And then follows: And We, your most humble and obedient Subjects, do faithfully promise to your Majesty by one common

Assent,

Assent, that after your Decease, and for lack of Heirs of your Body lawfully begotten, as is afore-rehearsed, We, our Heirs and Successors, shall accept and take, love, dread, serve, and only obey, such Person and Persons, Males or Females, as your Majesty shall give your said imperial Crown unto, by Authority of this Act, and to none other; and wholly to stick to them, as true and faithful Subjects ought to do to their regal Rulers, Governors, and supreme Heads.

He also procur'd another Statute, That whatever Act should pass in the Minority of any of his Successors, (under twenty four) they might reverse by their Letters Patents. And the Convocation, who were no less his Slaves than the Laity, confirmed the Sentence, declaring his Marriage with Queen *Anne* null and void.

In the Year 1536 the bloody six Articles of Religion, which were fram'd by the King, were established by Act of Parliament, by virtue whereof he frequently burnt Protestants and Papists in the same Fire. The refusing to assent to any of his Whimsies in Religion was inevitable Destruction. If any Person worship'd any other God (or, which is the same thing, worship'd God under any other Notion) than he was pleas'd to prescribe, he was to expect the fiery Furnace. And we find the Commissioners he had employ'd in the suppressing Monasteries were guilty of all manner of Oppressions and Extortions: Ten thousand of the Religious were at once turn'd out a starving, with but forty Shillings a piece in their Pockets. These were many of them of good Families, and bred up to Letters; which made it appear an Act of the greater Tyranny, such Persons being generally unable to provide for themselves by laborious Employments.

The

The Churches and Cloisters, which the Piety of former Ages had erected, and which had been Places of great Hospitality, to say no more of them, were pull'd down and demolished; and all the Materials, with their Furniture and Ornaments, exposed to publick Sale, and their Revenues ceas'd to the King's Use.

But the Destruction of these venerable and noble Foundations was even then so generally detested, that nothing could have secur'd the sacrilegious Plunderers, or even the King himself upon the Throne, but that accurs'd Policy of letting the Nobility and Gentry into a Share of the Profit.

Not that I would be thought to countenance the Abuses of those charitable Endowments, or the Bigotry or Superstition of the *Monks*: But as the Intention of the royal and noble Donors (how erroneous soever in their Principles) was to do Honour to Almighty God, and Good to Mankind, surely they ought still to have been apply'd to such Purposes, and not sacrilegiously invaded by impious Hands, whose ultimate End was the enriching themselves and their Families. Can it ever be believed, that out of those prodigious, but sacred Ruins, one hundredth Part of the Value was applied to any pious or charitable Purposes? Surely there is a wide Difference between a total Destruction and a Reformation: And exceeding strange it is, that when Preaching came so much in vogue, they should not leave even a Subsistence for the Preachers in most of the Parishes in *England*. The improv'd Rents of the Abbies and Monasteries, that were destroy'd, amounted to at least 1,500,000*l.* per Annum.

These Proceedings, as was very natural to expect, occasion'd some Insurrections; but the Nobility and Gentry being now of a Party with the King, and

Sharers

Sharers in the Profit, the Mob were easily suppress'd; and for the same Reason the Thunder of the Pope's Bulls was as little regarded. It was in vain to absolve the Nobility and Gentry of *England* from their Allegiance, and incite them to Rebellion, when they found the Sweet of their Obedience. It is a Prospect of Advantage that is the Motive to all Rebellions: But here a Change would have been apparently for the worse, and endanger'd their new Possessions.

But I should have remembred before this, that Queen *Jane* having brought the King a Son (afterwards *Edward* the VIth) dy'd in Child-bed the 24th of *October* 1537, being a little more than a Year after her Marriage.

Cromwell, to strengthen his own and the Protestant Interest, propos'd the King's marrying the Lady *Anne Cleve*, Sister to the Duke of *Cleve*, whose eldest Sister had married the Duke of *Saxony*, one of the greatest Champions for the Reformation in *Germany*. But unhappily for *Cromwell*, the King entertain'd an Aversion to her as soon as he saw her; and tho' for Reasons of State he solemniz'd the Marriage, he still meditated how to disengage himself from her; and for want of a better, after he had been married a few Months, he reviv'd an old Objection, which he had before examined, and knew there was nothing in, namely, a pretended Precontract between his Queen and the Prince of *Lorrain*. He pretended too that he never inwardly consented to the Marriage, and had never consummated it: And on these Allegations he procur'd his Marriage with her to be annull'd by the good-natur'd Archbishop, and the whole Convocation. The Reason of this hasty and absur'd Proceeding was occasion'd, it seems, not only by the Aversion the King had for his Queen, but by a new Passion he had entertain'd

tain'd for the Lady *Katherine Howard*, Niece to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and first Cousin to *Anne of Bullen*.

As *Cromwell* had been the principal Promoter of the Match with the Lady *Anne of Cleve*, and oppos'd that with the Lady *Howard*, he was soon made a Sacrifice to the Resentment of her and her Relations. This Man, who had found out the way to bring such immense Wealth into the King's Treasury by the Suppression of the Monasteries, who had been the King's Vicegerent, and given Laws both to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Powers; who was at the same time Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain, and Master of the Rolls: This great Minister, and most obsequious Servant, did the King offer a Victim to the Caprice of a lascivious Woman. He was attainted in Parliament of High Treason and Heresy, without ever being heard in his Defence; a Proceeding that he himself is said to have too much encourag'd. And one thing is very remarkable, that he who had been so notable a Reformer, and under that Pretence had seiz'd the Revenues of the Church, when he came to die, acknowledg'd he had been seduced, and died a zealous Papist.

The King's Marriage with the Lady *Anne Cleve* was also declar'd void in Parliament, and it was made High Treason to believe it to be good; tho' in the very same Sessions they pass'd an Act, that no Precontract should annul a Marriage solemnized in the Face of the Church: So extremely vile, so mean and base were the whole three Estates in this Reign, that they made no Scruple of enacting Contradictions, or passing into Laws the most absurd and ridiculous Propositions that could be invented, as will farther appear hereafter.

Soon

Soon after *Cromwell's* Execution, the King declared his Marriage with the Lady *Katherine Howard*: And it seems he was so exasperated with Cardinal *Pool*, for exposing his Lust and Cruelty, his Rapines and Sacrilege, that he order'd the old Countess of *Salisbury*, his Mother, to be executed, without alledging any Crime against her.

The King was not married a Year and half to his admir'd *Katherine Howard*, before Archbishop *Cranmer* brought him a Charge against her of Incontinence, for which she was attainted in Parliament, and beheaded. She acknowledged some Mis-carriages before her Marriage with the King; but took it upon her Salvation at her Death, that she had never been false to his Bed. Whether *Anne of Bullen*, or this Queen, were really guilty, may be difficult to determine at this Day. But 'tis observable, as Queen *Anne of Bullen* was the great Support of the Protestants, the Authors of her Ruin were Papists; and as the Lady *Katherine Howard* was esteem'd a great Favourer of the Papists, so her Ruin came from the Protestant Side, and Archbishop *Cranmer* was her principal Accuser: From whence the World will be apt to conjecture, that each of their Misfortunes proceeded rather from the Malice and Violence of the opposite Faction, than from any real Guilt in either of them. The King, it seems, was of a roving Disposition, ever given to change; and the several Parties observing his Weakness, took such Opportunities of gratifying their Revenge on one another.

In the Act for attainting Queen *Katherine Howard*, there are the merriest Provisions that ever found Place in human Laws. It was made Treason not to discover the Incontinence of any Person the King shou'd be about to marry; and Treason in the Lady herself not to discover the Loss of her Virginity,

Virginity, of which the King himself was to be Judge.

But to return: So profuse, so very extravagant was this King, that the Wealth of all the Monasteries was squandred away in an Instant, and large Supplies demanded of the Parliament in a Year or two after. And tho' he had swallow'd the larger as well as the lesser Monasteries, and proceeded to seize the Revenues of several Colleges and Hospitals, he still demanded Supplies, and had six Shillings in the Pound granted him to be raised in three Years.

The King determining to marry again, found himself under greater Difficulties than heretofore; for he had rendred himself so terrible to the Women, by cutting off two of his Wives Heads; and more especially to the Maids, by the Act above-mentioned, making it High Treason not to come Virgins to his Bed, that he was under a Necessity of taking up with a Widow: Whereupon he married the Lady *Katherine Parr*, Widow of the late Lord *Latimer*. And she too was in great Danger of her Life, when she discovered herself to be of different Faith from what the King had prescrib'd to her and the rest of his Subjects. To such Pride and Arrogance was this Prince arriv'd, that whoever refus'd to submit their Understanding and Conscience to his Dictates, and to alter their Creed as often as he was pleas'd to alter his Mind, were immediately destin'd to Destruction.

And now the King thought fit to frame a new Act of Succession.

In this Act is recited the Settlement of the Crown by 28 *Hen. VIII.* and what Power was thereby given the King to dispose of the same, and then goes on: "To the Intent therefore that his Majesty's Disposition and Mind therein might be
" openly

“ openly declared and manifestly known, his Majesty designing a Voyage beyond Sea, it was enacted by his Highness, with the Assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by Authority of the same, That in case it should happen, the *King's Majesty*, and *Prince Edward Heir apparent*, to die without Issue of their Bodies lawfully begotten, so as there be no Heirs, Male or Female, of either of their Bodies to have and inherit the said imperial Crown, that then it should be to his Daughter *Mary*, and her Heirs lawfully to be begotten, under such Conditions as should be limited by the King's Letters Patents, or his last Will; and for Default of Issue of the Princess *Mary*, to his Daughter *Elizabeth* upon the same Conditions. But if no Conditions were appointed, then the Succession to each of them one after another absolutely.

“ And for want of Heirs by his Queen *Katherine* his lawful Wife, and for want of lawful Issue of *Prince Edward*, his Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, then the King to dispose of the Crown at his only Pleasure from time to time.

He procur'd also a second Act to cheat all his Creditors, and to be discharged from the Payment of his Debts; and he carried it so far, that those whom he had paid, were to repay their Money back again into the *Exchequer*.

His Subjects were certainly in very happy Circumstances: No Man dar'd refuse to lend him Money if he demanded it, and at the same time they were very sure they should never have it again.

And notwithstanding all the former Ways and Means for raising Money, he descended to debase the Coin, in order to carry on a War with *France*,

in which he was now engaged. In the Year 1544, he invaded *France* in Person, and took the Town of *Bologne*; but being deserted by his good Ally the Emperor, he returned in a few Months to *England*. The next Year new Supplies were demanded, and granted in Parliament, which, our Historians suggest, were great part of them laid out in fortifying the Coast; but the Value of one of the Monasteries he suppress'd, would have doubly paid for all the Fortifications that were erected in his whole Reign.

In the Year 1546, being the last of this King's Reign, a Peace was concluded with *France*, while a most bloody Persecution reign'd at home: Even Women were rack'd and tortur'd, and afterwards burnt alive by this reforming King, for denying the corporal Presence in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. And he had signed a Warrant, we are told, to commit his Queen to the *Tower* for Heresy, which with some Difficulty she wheedled him to revoke; and at the same time the Votaries of *Rome* were equally prosecuted for denying his Supremacy. He gloried in shewing himself impartially cruel to all his Subjects; and one of the last Acts of his Tyranny was express'd in the Ruin of the Family of the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was the Head of the *Romish* Party. His Son the Earl of *Surrey* he caus'd to be convicted of Treason by a Jury of Commoners, and on the 19th of *January*, 1547, he was beheaded. His Father the Duke of *Norfolk* was attainted in Parliament without being heard; but the King happening to die the 28th of *January*, he was not beheaded. This Nobleman had executed the Office of Lord Treasurer many Years with great Fidelity: and nothing was objected against him, but his bearing the Arms of the royal Family; which he had ever done, with
some

some Distinction from the King's. So trivial a Pre-
tence will serve a Tyrant to ruin his greatest Sub-
jects.

In pursuance of the Act of Parliament empowering
the King to limit the Succession of the Crown by his
Will, he made his last Will, and limited the Crown
to the Issue of his younger Sister *Mary* by *Charles
Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, upon Failure of Issue of
his Son *Edward*, and the Princesses *Mary* and *Eli-
zabeth*; which, as far as it relates to the Succession
to the Crown, is here transcribed.

*A Transcript of King Henry the VIIIth's
Will, as far as it relates to the Succefs-
ion of the Crown.*

“ AND as concerning the Ordre and Dispo- *Henry
VIIIth's Will*
“ sition of thimperial Crowne of this
“ Realme of *England* and *Ireland*, with our Title of
“ *Fraunce*, and all Dignityes, Honours, Preeminen-
“ ces, Prerogatives, Authorityes, and Jurisdictions
“ to the same annexed or belonging; and for
“ the sure Establishment of the Succession of the
“ same.

“ And also for a full and plain Gift, Disposition,
“ Assignment, Declaration, Limitation, and Ap-
“ pointment, with what Conditions our Doughters
“ *Mary* and *Elizabeth* shall severally have, hold, and
“ enjoye the sayd imperial Crowne, and other the
“ Premisses, after our Decease; and for Default of
“ Issue and Heirs of the several Bodyes of Us, and
“ of our Sonne Prince *Edward*, lawfully begotten,
“ and his Heires.

“ And also for a full Gift, Disposition, Assign-
 “ ment, Declaration, Limitation, and Appointment,
 “ to whom and of what Estate; and in what Man-
 “ ner, Form and Condition the sayde imperial
 “ Crowne, and other the Premisses, shall remayne
 “ and cum after our Deceasse; and for Default of
 “ Issue and Heires of the several Bodyes of Us, and
 “ of our sayd Sonne Prince *Edward*, and of our
 “ sayd Doughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, lawfully be-
 “ gotten: We by these Presents do make and de-
 “ clare our last Will and Testament concerning the
 “ sayd imperial Crowne, and all other the Premisses,
 “ in Manner and Form following.

“ That is to say, We will by these Presents, That
 “ immediately after our Departure out of this pre-
 “ sent Lief, our said Sonne *Edward* shall have and
 “ enjoye the sayd Imperial Crowne and Realme of
 “ *England* and *Ireland*, our Title to *Fraunce*, with
 “ all Dignities, Honours, Preeminences, Preroga-
 “ tives, Authorities and Jurisdictions, Lands and
 “ Possessions to the same annexed or belonging, to
 “ him and to his Heires of his Body lawfully be-
 “ gotten.

“ And for Default of such Issue of our sayd
 “ Sonne Prince *Edward*'s Bodye lawfully begotten,
 “ We will the sayd imperial Crowne, and other the
 “ Premisses, after our two Deceasse, shall holly re-
 “ mayn and cum to the Heires of our Body law-
 “ fully begotten of the Body of our entirely be-
 “ loved Wief Queene *Katheryn* that now is, or of
 “ any other our lawful Wief that we shall hereaf-
 “ ter marry.

“ And for lack of such Issue and Heires, We
 “ will also, that after our Deceasse, and for Default
 “ of Heires of the several Bodyes of Us, and of
 “ our sayd Sonne Prince *Edward*, lawfully begotten,
 “ the sayd imperial Crowne, and all other the Pre-
 “ misses,

“ misses, shall holly remayn and cum to our sayd
 “ Doughter *Mary*, and the Heires of her Body
 “ lawfully begotten, upon Condition that our sayd
 “ Doughter *Mary* after our Deceasse shall not mar-
 “ ry, ne take any Personne to her Husbande, with-
 “ out the Assent and Consent of the Privy Coun-
 “ sailours and others appointed by Us, to be of
 “ Counsaile with our deereſt Sonne Prince *Edward*
 “ aforeſayd, or of the moost part of them, or the
 “ moost part of such as shall then be alyve, there-
 “ unto before the sayd Mariage had in Writing,
 “ ſealed with their Seales.

“ All which Condition we declare, limite, ap-
 “ point, and will by theſe Preſents, ſhall be knitt
 “ and inveſted to the ſayd Eſtate of our ſayd Dough-
 “ ter *Mary* in the ſayd imperial Crowne, and other
 “ the Premiſſes. And if it fortune our ſayd Dough-
 “ ter *Mary* to dye without Iſſue of her Body law-
 “ fully begotten, We will, that after our Deceasse,
 “ and for Default of Iſſue of the ſeveral Bodyes of
 “ Us, and of our ſayd Sonne Prince *Edward*, lawful-
 “ ly begotten, and of our Doughter *Mary*, the ſaid
 “ imperial Crowne, and other the Premiſſes, ſhall
 “ holly remayn and cum to our ſayd Doughter
 “ *Elizabeth*, and to the Heires of her Body lawfully
 “ begotten, upon Condition that our ſayd Dough-
 “ ter *Elizabeth*, after our Deceasse, ſhall not marry,
 “ nor take any Personne to her Husbande, without
 “ the Assent and Consent of the Privy Counſailors,
 “ and others appointed by Us to be of Counsaile
 “ with our ſaid deereſt Sonne Prince *Edward*, or
 “ the moost part of them, or the moost part of such
 “ of them as ſhall be thenne enlyve, thereunto be-
 “ fore the ſayd Mariage had in Writing, ſealed with
 “ their Seales : Which Condition we declare, limite,
 “ appoint, and will by theſe Preſents, ſhall be to the
 “ ſayd Eſtate of our ſayd Doughter *Elizabeth* in the

“ sayd imperial Crown, and other the Premisses knitt
 “ and invested.

“ And if it shall fortune our sayd Doughter *Eliza-*
 “ *beth* to dye without Issue of her Body lawfully
 “ begotten, We will, that after our Deceasse, and
 “ for Default of Issue of the severall Bodyes of
 “ Us, and of our sayd Sonne Prince *Edward*, and
 “ of our sayd Doughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*.

“ We will that the sayd imperial Crowne, and other
 “ the Premisses, after our Deceasse, and for Default of
 “ thIssue of the severall Bodyes of Us, and of our
 “ say’d Sonne Prince *Edward*, and of our said Dough-
 “ ters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, lawfully begotten, shall
 “ holly remayn and cum to the Heires of the Body
 “ of the Lady *Fraunces* our Niepce, eldest Doughter
 “ to our late Sister the *French* Quene, lawfully begot-
 “ ten. And for Default of such Issue of the Body
 “ of the sayd *Fraunces*, We will, that the say’d impe-
 “ rial Crowne, and other the Premisses, after our De-
 “ ceasse, and for Default of Issue of the severall Bo-
 “ dies of Us, and of our Sonne Prince *Edward*, and
 “ of our Doughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and of the
 “ Lady *Fraunces*, lawfully begotten, shall holly re-
 “ mayn and cum to the Heires of the Body of the
 “ Lady *Elyanore* our Niepce, second Doughter to our
 “ sayd late Sister the *French* Quene, lawfully begotten.
 “ And if it happen the sayd Lady *Elyanore* to dye
 “ without Issue of her Body lawfully begotten, We
 “ will, that after our Deceasse, and for Default of
 “ Issue of the severall Bodyes of Us, and of our sayd
 “ Sonne Prince *Edward*, and of our sayd Doughters
 “ *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, and of the sayd Lady *Fraunces*
 “ and of the sayd Lady *Elyanore*, lawfully begotten,
 “ the sayd imperial Crowne, and other the Premisses,
 “ shall holly remayn and cum to the next rightfull
 “ Heires. Also We will, that if our sayd Dough-
 “ ter *Mary* doo mary without the Consent and A-
 “ greement

“ greement of the Privy Counsaylours, and others ap-
 “ poincted by us to be of Counsaile to our sayd Sonne
 “ Prince *Edwarde*, or the moost part of them, or the
 “ moost part of such of them as shall thenne be alyve,
 “ thereunto before the sayd Marriage had in Writting,
 “ sealed with their Seales, as is afore said : That thenne
 “ and from thensforth, for lack of Heires of the se-
 “ verall Bodyes of Us, and of our said Sonne Prince
 “ *Edwarde*, lawfully begotten, the sayd imperial
 “ Crowne, and other the Premisses, shall holly remayn,
 “ be, and cum to our sayd Doughter *Elizabeth*, and
 “ to the Heires of her Body lawfully begotten, in
 “ such Manner and Forme as though our sayd Dough-
 “ ter *Mary* wer thenne dead, without any Issue of
 “ the Body of our sayd Doughter lawfully begotten ;
 “ any thing conteyned in this our Will, or in any Act
 “ of Parliament or Statute to the contrary in any
 “ wise notwithstanding ; and in case our sayd Dough-
 “ ter the Lady *Mary* do kepe and parforme the sayd
 “ Condition expresse, declared, and limited to her
 “ Estate in the sayd imperial Crowne, and other the
 “ Premisses, by this our last Will declared.

“ And that our sayd Doughter *Elizabeth*, for her
 “ Parte, do not kepe and parforme the sayd Condi-
 “ tion, declared and limited by this our last Will
 “ to the Estate of the sayd Lady *Elizabeth* in the
 “ sayd imperial Crowne of this Realme of *England*
 “ and *Irelande*, and other the Premisses, We will,
 “ that thenne and from thensforth, after our De-
 “ cease, and for lack of Heires of the severall Bo-
 “ dyes of Us, and of our sayd Sonne Prince *Ed-*
 “ *warde*, and of our said Doughter *Mary*, lawfully
 “ begotten, the sayd imperial Crowne, and other
 “ the Premisses, shall holly remayn and cum to the
 “ next Heires lawfully begotten of the Body of
 “ the sayd Lady *Fraunces*, in such Manner and Forme
 “ as though the sayd Lady *Elizabeth* wer then dead,

“ without any Heire of her Body lawfully begotten;
 “ any thing conteyned in this Will, or in any Act
 “ or Statute to the contrary notwithstanding.
 “ The Remainders over, for lack of Issue of the
 “ sayd Lady *Fraunces* lawfully begotten, to be and
 “ continue to such Personnes, and with like Re-
 “ maindres and Estate, as is before limited and de-
 “ clared.

One of the principal Objections to this Settlement, that has been made by the *Scots*, is, that the Act of Parliament was not pursued, which required the Will to be signed with the King's Hand; for they say he only stamped his Name. I believe the World will not lay any great Stress upon this Objection, if it was really true: But it seems the Fact is otherwise, and it is very evident the Name was written with a Pen; and nothing confirms me more in the Validity of this Will, than the making so very trifling an Objection to it. And it is very certain that this Will was produced several times before the Council and the Parliament, and read before them, and examined immediately after the King's Death, and universally approv'd; and the Administration put into such Hands as the Will directed, and never any Objection made to it till many Years after. But I shall refer the Reader to a Piece, entitled, *A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England*, made by *J. Hales*, 1563; where he will see all the Objections to this Will fully answered.

Reflections
 on the Reign
 and Character
 of *Henry*
 VIII.

Having reviewed the most considerable Transactions of this Reign, it may still be difficult to discover upon what Facts the Character given of this Prince by our Author is founded. He says, *With all his Failings, he was EVERY WAY a proper Instrument to effect those amazing Works designed by Providence;* (I suppose

suppose he means his throwing off the Pope's Supremacy, and the Steps that were taken towards the Reformation.) And in another Place, *That with all his Crimes and Exorbitances, he was one of the most glorious Princes of his Time.* These are such Encomiums as can hardly be admitted, if we use any Reflection.

For as to the beginning of his Reign, we find it spent in Masques, Shews, Revelling, and a most profuse and unbounded Expence; and the vast Treasure left him by *Henry VII.* not only diminished, but entirely squander'd away in a few Years. We may observe farther, that there was but one Sessions of Parliament in fourteen Years; and instead of the ancient legal Methods of raising Money, Loans, Benevolences, and other oppressive Ways, were taken to extort Money from the Subject.

As we advance farther, we see innumerable Acts of Injustice and Cruelty, his beheading his Queens, his executing the Earl of *Suffolk*, the Duke of *Bucks*, the Countess of *Salisbury*, the Earl of *Surrey*, Sir *Thomas More*, and old Bishop *Fisher*: We see his Ingratitude, in destroying *Woolsey* and *Cromwel*, those great Ministers, whose principal Crimes were their Obsequiousness and Submission to his Pleasure: We see him torturing and burning Protestants and Papists promiscuously in the same Fires, because they could not believe what he was pleased to dictate.

And were there ever greater Acts of Tyranny exercised upon Clergy and Laity, upon Parliaments and Convocations? How many Absurdities, Contradictions, and ridiculous Laws did he make them enact? How did he condemn the whole Nation in a *Premunire*, for obeying Powers of his own introducing and approving? And did not he make them pass a Law that his Proclamation should be

of the same Authority as an Act of Parliament, which at once destroyed the whole Constitution?

And then, if we observe his unexampled Rapine and Sacrilege, in destroying Churches, Monasteries, and Hospitals, and seizing the Revenues, Plate and Ornaments, to his own Use, to that immense Value; and at the same time turning out ten thousand of the Religious to starve at once; his assuming all spiritual Authority that CHRIST himself had, and issuing Commissions to his Bishops to administer the Sacraments, Ordain and Consecrate, and perform their whole spiritual Function: I say, if we reflect on these Things, how can we look upon him as a *glorious Prince*? How can we say he was a *proper Instrument* to effect a Reformation? That God can bring the greatest Good out of Evil, and turn those very Counsels, that were intended for the Destruction of a Church and Nation, to their Advantage, is not to be doubted.

But shall we applaud a Prince, who accidentally was the Occasion of some Good, when 'tis apparent he designed the greatest Mischief? What worse could happen to the Subjects of this Kingdom, than to be deprived of their Estates, their Lives, and their Laws, Liberties, and whole Constitution at the Tyrant's Pleasure, and to be debarr'd even from thinking contrary to his Commands? As in the Case of his Marriages, and Issue, it was made High-Treason to believe some of the King's Marriages to be valid, or his Issue legitimate.

But above all, to have new Creeds and Articles of Religion imposed both on the Clergy and Laity, on Pain of burning, and the most exquisite Tortures; and these subject to be changed and altered by the King every Day, that a Man might be Orthodox in his Opinion one Day, and burnt for the same Principles the next: This was, no doubt, a very desirable

desirable Situation of Affairs for the People; and we cannot but look upon this King as a most glorious Prince, and every way a proper Instrument to bring about a Reformation!

And to enquire a little into the Courage and Resolution of this Prince, upon which so great a Stress is laid, that it is said to deface and compensate for all his other Crimes and Exorbitances. It is very evident, that he did not throw off the Church of *Rome*, but the Church of *Rome* threw off him; for when he found Things coming to Extremity, he made his formal Submission to that See in Writing; which they proudly and foolishly refused to accept, having determined the Case against him two Days before the Courier arrived with the Instrument of his Submission.

And then for his Policy, in selling the Lands of the religious Houses at easy Rates to the Nobility and Gentry, this is acknowledg'd to be *Cromwel's* Project. And besides, if he had never seiz'd those Houses, he had never brought that general Odium upon him as to occasion an Insurrection; and these People were already so frightened by *Cromwel's* Visitation, and his seizing some of them, that they might have been brought to any Terms, and themselves been made Instruments of cutting off the Pope's Authority. And 'tis plain the Abbots themselves concurr'd and voted in abridging the Pope's Authority, till they began to apprehend a general Dissolution of their Houses, and then indeed they fled to the Pope as their only Refuge; and it was very natural to expect they would do so. But further, does any Man at this Day believe that King *Henry* had any other Design in demolishing and plundering the Monasteries, than the enriching himself? And if he had not, I think such Consequences as he neither expected or foresaw, but were

were only accidentally the Effects of his covetous and rapacious Actions, are not to be attributed to him, any more than the Salvation of the World is to be imputed to *Judas*, or *Pontius Pilate*, who intended no such thing, but an Advancement of their own Authority or Interests.

Our Author tells us, indeed, that this King's Lusts, and other Vices, have been unreasonably exaggerated. But whether from the Facts themselves, admitted on all hands, he does not appear as vile, as cruel and tyrannical as he can be represented, may be made a Doubt: And to say the Concurrence of the Clergy and Parliament in many of his worst Actions ought to be some Excuse for him; this surely was rather an Aggravation, and the highest Act of Tyranny, to compel them to enact Laws, and declare their Approbation of Facts that they knew to be false, unjust, or ridiculous.

Not that those mean and sordid Compliances of the Convocation and Parliament, of the Clergy and Laity in general, are ever to be excused; they will remain an indelible Blot upon that Age, and give us a very low and abject Opinion of those Assemblies. But at the same time it exalts the Virtue, Courage, and Merit of those few Heroes, who were burnt, tortured, and destroyed, rather than deny their God and their Principles, and sacrifice their Integrity to the Tyrant's Pleasure; and that at a time when the whole Legislature were so corrupted and debased.

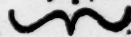
EDWARD



EDWARD VI.

EDWARD VI. only Son of King Henry VIII. by Queen *Jane Seymour*, his third Wife, succeeded to the Crown, being about nine Years of Age at his Accession. King *Henry* having no Son living by either of his former Wives, and both Queen *Katherine* and Queen *Anne* being dead before he married Queen *Jane*, no Objection can be made to the Legitimacy of this Prince, or to his Title. King *Edward* VI. was crowned the 20th of February, 1547. He had neither Wife nor Issue, dying on the sixth Day of July, in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and the seventh of his Reign, A. D. 1553.

1547.



His Title.

His Age and Death.

Our Author says, this Prince had a strait and well-proportioned Body, was of a sweet and beautiful Aspect, especially in his Eyes, which seemed to have a starry Liveliness and Lustre in them. As there was a great Vivacity in his Looks, so the Beauties and Perfections of his Mind were incomparable, for his Age. He was not only learned in the Tongues and the liberal Sciences, but was well skill'd in the State of his Kingdom. He kept a Table-Book, in which he had writ the Characters of all the eminent Men in the Nation. He studied Fortification, understood the Mint, and knew all the Ports, Havens and Harbours in his Dominions, with the Depth of the Water, and Way of Access to them. He was so well vers'd in foreign Affairs, that

that the Ambassadors that were sent into *England* published extraordinary Things of him in all the Courts of *Europe*. He had great Quickness of Apprehension; but being diffident of his Memory, he took Notes of every material Thing he heard in *Greek* Characters, which he afterwards copied out fair in the Journal he kept. His Virtues were admirable, being truly just, and merciful in his Disposition, and taking special Care of the Petitions that were given him by the Poor and Oppress'd. But his pious Zeal for Religion crown'd all the rest; which did not proceed from an angry Heat, but from a true Tenderneſs of Conscience, founded on the Love of God and his Fellow-Creatures. These extraordinary Qualities, adorn'd with a charming Sweetneſs and Affability, made him univerſally beloved by all his People: Some called him their *Joſias*, others *Edward the Saint*, and others the *Phoenix*, that rose out of his Mother's Ashes; and all concluded, that the Sins of *England* must have been very great, since they provoked God to snatch away so signal a Blessing from the Nation. As to the Reign itself, it was generally weak and tumultuous, defamed by Sacrilege, and distracted by Parties and Factions: Great Complaints were made by good Men of the Vices of this Time, which were grown so common, that many Men became Strangers to all Shame; Luxury, Oppression, and a Hatred to Religion, had over-run the higher Rank of the People, who countenanced the Reformation meerly to rob the Church; by which, and their other Practices, they became a Scandal to so noble a Work. Such open Offence was given by the Spoil made of so many rich Endowments, that they who understood little of Religion, laboured under great Prejudices against any thing that was advanced by such mercenary Instruments: And these things,

things, as they rous'd up the Vengeance of Heaven, so they disposed the People much to that dismal Catastrophe in the following Reign.

The Reign of this Infant-King may more properly be stiled the Reign of his Ministers, he being purely passive, and governed sometimes by one Minister, and sometimes by another, as this or that Faction prevailed.

A Review of
the Reign of
Edward VI.

The Privy-Council, for Reasons of State, thought fit to conceal the Death of King *Henry* for two or three Days, till they had brought the young King from *Hertfordshire* to *London*, and then they proclaimed him, and proceeded to open the late King's Will; whereby he had appointed sixteen Persons, of whom the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, and the great Officers of State, were part, to be Executors of his Will, and Governors to his Son, till he should come to eighteen Years of Age: And it being propos'd that one of the sixteen should be chosen, to whom Ambassadors might address themselves, and who should have the principal Administration of the Government; the Choice fell upon the Earl of *Hertford*, the King's Uncle by the Mother's Side, and he was declared Governor of the King's Person, and Protector of the Kingdom; but it was provided that he should not act in any thing material without the Concurrence of the rest. The Lord Chancellor *Wriothesly* is said to oppose this new Regulation, as not agreeable to the late King's Intentions, and for that the Place of Precedence did of Right belong to him; and some others of the Executors adhering to him, gave Rise to a Faction which very much distracted this Reign. The Earl of *Hertford*, and his Party, who prevail'd at present, were looked upon as Friends to the Reformation, and the Lord Chancellor and his Party as Enemies to it: However, all the Executors took their

their Oaths duly to execute the Trust reposed in them, and all Commissions were renewed in the Name of King *Edward*. Among the rest, the Bishops took out new Commissions to hold their Bishopricks during the King's Pleasure; in which Commissions were contained Powers to ordain, consecrate, administer the Sacraments, and perform all other Parts of their Episcopal Function, as had been practised in the last Reign.

Before the Coronation there was a Creation and Promotion of some Peers: The Protector was made Duke of *Somerset*, the Earl of *Essex* Marquess of *Northampton*, the Lord *Lisle* Earl of *Warwick*, the Chancellor Earl of *Southampton*; Sir *Thomas Seymour*, the King's other Uncle, was made a Baron; as were also *Rich*, *Willoughby*, and *Sheffield*.

The Lord Chancellor soon fell into Disgrace; for having taken upon him, without the Consent of the Regency, to delegate his Office of Lord Chancellor to the Master of the Rolls, and three of the Masters in Chancery, he was adjudged to have forfeited his Place; and accordingly the Great Seal was taken from him, and he was fined in the Sum of 4000*l*.

The Protector, not being satisfied with a bare Superintendency, enlarged his Authority by a Patent under the Great Seal, empowering him to administer the Government with such only of the Council as he should think fit to call to his Assistance; and at the same time he restrained them from transacting any thing without him.

Having settled his own Authority, in order to promote the Reformation, he appointed a general Visitation of the Churches through *England*; and having divided the Kingdom into six Districts or Circuits, two Gentlemen, a Civilian, and a Divine, were made Commissioners to visit every District; during

during which Visitation, the Jurisdiction of the Bishops was suspended, and Bishop Bonner and Gardiner were imprisoned for refusing to submit to the Visitors.

A War happening with Scotland in the beginning of this Reign, the Protector gained a great Victory over the Scots at *Musleborough*; and having wasted the Country, and left Garrisons in proper Places to curb the Scots, he returned to England with a great deal of Honour, and called a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, where all Treasons were reduced to the old Standard of the 25 *Edw.* III. And the Acts for establishing the six Articles, for making the King's Proclamation of equal Authority with an Act of Parliament, and all the Acts against the *Lollards*, or Reformed, were repealed.

It was also enacted, that the Communion should be administred in both Kinds; that Bishops should be created by Letters-Patents, without any *Congé d'Esire*, and then consecrated; and that such Chantries should be seized to the King's Use as had escaped King Henry.

The next Year, viz. 1548, there was an Order of the Regency for removing Images out of Churches, and seizing the Shrines, and Plate that belonged to them, to the King's Use: Auricular Confession was abolish'd, and a Form of Common-Prayer appointed; and, contrary to the Practice at this Day, in a Cause of Divorce for Adultery, it was adjudged by the Court of Delegates, that the innocent Party was at Liberty to marry again.

The Lord *Thomas Seymour*, the Protector's Brother, being made Lord High Admiral, and afterwards marrying the Queen Dowager, begun, 'tis said, to entertain very ambitious Projects; for which he was reproved by his Brother: But still persisting in his Designs, it occasioned a very great Breach be-

tween them, inſomuch that the Admiral was committed to the *Tower*, and attainted of High-Treſon in Parliament, without being heard; and afterwards beheaded. His Brother's Hand being to the Warrant for his Execution, he was ſeverely cenſured by the People, and loſt much of their Eſteem; and no doubt he contributed very much to his own Ruin, when he cut off his Brother. They might have reſiſted all the Efforts of their Enemies, had they remained united; but now the Protector was left ſingly to contend with a powerful Faction, who had long ſtudied his Diſgrace, and ſoon after effected it.

And the Protector is ſaid very much to increaſe the general Odium againſt him, by ſacrilegiouſly ſeizing Biſhops Lands, and the Revenues of the Church, to his own Uſe, and pulling down ſeveral Churches and Biſhops Palaces to erect a Palace for himſelf in the *Strand*; which now goes by the Name of *Sonnenſet-houſe*.

In this Reign, it ſeems, the Nobility and Gentry finding great Advantages by incloſing their arable Lands, and converting them to Paſture; this occaſioned great Murmuring and Diſcontent among the common People, who were many of them reduced to a ſtarving Condition by this means, the grazing Grounds not employing half the Hands that the arable do.

This, with the Diſaffection of ſome People on account of the Alteration of Religion, occaſioned ſeveral formidable Inſurrections in many Counties of *England*, in the third Year of this Reign; particularly, in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwal*, where the Malecontents beſieged the City of *Exeter*, and reduced it to very great Straits. And in *Norfolk*, *Robert Ket*, a Tanner, aſſembled vaſt Multitudes of People, defeated ſeveral of the King's Troops, burnt the City of

of *Norwich*, and committed many Outrages, and was with some Difficulty at length reduced by the Earl of *Warwick*, who marched against him with a Body of eight or ten thousand Men. But it seems he did more Service by a Pardon he carried with him, than by his Arms; for upon proclaiming an Indemnity, the Malecontents deserted their Leaders, and dispersed, and the Earl hanged *Ket*, and some of the chief of them, upon a famous Oak, where *Ket* used to sit and administer Justice, after his Way.

Many heretical and blasphemous Opinions being imported from *Germany*, and propagated here in *England*, in this Reign; such as the denying the Divinity of our Saviour, and the like; that they might not bring a Scandal on the Reformation, as if they were countenanced by the present Government, two of those Wretches were convicted and burnt for Examples. They obstinately persisted in their Errors to the last, and were looked upon by themselves, and their Disciples, to be as good Martyrs as any that had gone before them in the fiery Trial.

The Protector still continued to render himself obnoxious, by keeping Guards of *Germans* and *Swiss* about his Person, and carrying the King to *Hampton-Court*, and putting his own Creatures about him; whereupon several of the Privy-Council met at *Ely-house*, and declared against his Male-administration, and assuming a Power that was not warranted by the late King's Will. With these joined the City of *London*, and the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and sent Letters to the Nobility and Gentry throughout *England*, complaining of the Protector's arbitrary and illegal Proceedings.

The Protector, finding the Torrent too strong to be resisted, made his Submission, and acknowledged

his Errors. But this would not satisfy his Enemies: He was committed to the *Tower*, with several of his Adherents, and Articles of Male-administration were drawn up against him, which he confess'd; whereupon he was fined in 2000 *l.* a Year, and adjudged to lose all his Places. But he soon found Means to insinuate himself into the King's Favour; and, having obtained a Pardon, took his Place in Council again; but never bore that Sway afterwards which he had done.

In the Year 1550, the eldest Sons of Peers were first permitted to sit in the House of Commons.

The same Year a Peace was concluded with *France*; and by one of the Articles, *Bologne* was agreed to be delivered up to the *French*, on Payment of four hundred thousand Nobles; and all the Places the *English* held in *Scotland*, were also agreed to be delivered up, and that Kingdom comprehended in the Treaty.

In the Year 1551, two and forty Articles of Religion were composed, being much the same with the thirty nine afterwards established in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and the Common-Prayer Book was revised, and put into near the same Order it is at this Day: And the following Year it was established by Act of Parliament, when the Marriages of Priests were also enacted to be valid, and their Children legitimate; and the Princess *Mary* was prohibited to hear Mass publickly. Dr. *Hooper*, Bishop of *Gloucester*, about this time entertaining Scruples about the Ceremonies and Vestments of the Clergy that were retained by the Reformers, gave Rise, it is said, to that Sect called *Puritans*, who have since so much distracted the Church of *England*.

The Earl of *Warwick*, the Protector's greatest Enemy, was now become exceeding popular, and directed

rected all Affairs of State: He called whom he pleased to Account, particularly the Protector's Friends, whom he caused to be fined, imprisoned, and punished as he saw fit. And observing that the Issue of the Queen of *France* by the Duke of *Suffolk* were to succeed to the Crown, according to the Appointment of King *Henry's* Will, before the Issue of his eldest Sister *Margaret*, he began to entertain Thoughts of settling the Succession of the Crown in his own Family, by marrying his Son *Guildford* to the Lady *Jane Grey*, eldest Daughter of the Marquess of *Dorset* (now Duke of *Suffolk*), and the Lady *Frances*, eldest Daughter of Queen *Mary* by *Charles Brandon*, the late Duke of *Suffolk*; which he soon effected. And tho' the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* stood before the Issue of the Lady *Frances* in the Will, yet he did not doubt the setting them aside for their Illegitimacy.

The greatest Obstacle to these Designs he apprehended was the Protector; he therefore resolved to have him out of the Way: And first, in order to strengthen his own Interest, he caused several Promotions to be made among the Nobility, and caused himself to be created Duke of *Northumberland*. Having prepared this Scheme, the Protector, and four of his principal Friends, were committed to the *Tower*; and he procured him to be convicted by his Peers of Felony, in attempting to imprison himself (the Duke of *Northumberland*), who was a Privy-Counsellor: And upon this trifling Charge was this great Man, and his four Friends, condemned and executed. It seems Sacrilege did not expire with the Protector; for as the Bishops Sees became vacant, their best Manors and Lands were seized by the Courtiers, who obtained Grants of them from the Crown. There was also another general Visitation of Churches appointed; the principal Design

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whereof

whereof seems to be to plunder them of the little Plate and Ornaments that were left.

And now the King's Health declining apace, and it being generally expected that he would not live long, the Duke of *Northumberland* renewed his Endeavours to secure the Succession of the Crown to his Daughter-in-law the Lady *Jane Grey*, and procured the King to appoint her to succeed him, by a Patent under the Broad-Seal, which he prevailed with all the Privy-Council, Regency, and Judges, to give their Assent to, and sign; except Judge *Hales*, who by no Threats or Promises could be induced to do it. He represented to the King and the Duke, that the Crown was already settled by Parliament, by the whole Legislature, and that no Authority less than that could defeat or alter it. The great Argument that prevailed upon the Privy-Council to comply with this Appointment, was the Lady *Jane's* being a Protestant; for they dreaded the Thoughts of a Popish Successor: And the Resolution and Probity of Judge *Hales* is the more conspicuous, in that, tho' he was a zealous Protestant, and that tho' it was so much his Interest to have excluded Queen *Mary*, he could not be prevailed on, neither by that, or any Threats the Duke of *Northumberland* could use, to give his Concurrence, where he looked upon the Action to be unjust. And we see the whole Nation, notwithstanding their Dread of returning Popery, notwithstanding the King's Appointment, and the Approbation of the Regency, the Privy-Council, and Judges, for the Succession of the Lady *Jane*, universally detested so manifest a Piece of Injustice, and recognized Queen *Mary's* Title. The Nation was not then acquainted with those Principles, that a Prospect of Danger or Inconvenience was sufficient to defeat and extinguish any Title to the Crown, whether Hereditary or Parliamentary,

As

As to the Character of this King, our Historians agree that he was a Prince of great Expectations: But being constantly under the Influence of others, and dying before he was 16 Years of Age, the good or ill Management in the Administration is not to be imputed to him. As a private Gentleman, if he had half the Accomplishments our Historians bestow upon him, he was certainly much above the common Level of Mankind. But it seems to be a universal Failing in those who attempt a Panegyrick; they never know where to leave off. If they do not exalt their Hero above the common Race of Mortals, they think they have fail'd in the Description; whereas when they ascribe such Perfections to a Man like themselves, as are only to be found in Angels, they often render the whole Relation suspected.



MARY I.



MARY I. succeeded to the Crown on the Death of her Brother King *Edward VI.* without Issue. She was the only surviving Child of King *Henry VIII.* by *Katherine* the Infanta of *Spain* his first Wife, the Widow and Relief of Prince *Arthur* his elder Brother.

1553.
Her Title.

This Princess had a Parliamentary as well as an Hereditary Title; for by 35 *Hen. VIII. cap. 1.* above-mentioned, the Crown is limited to her and the Heirs of her Body, on Failure of Issue of her

Brother Prince *Edward*. And if King *Henry's* Marriage with her Mother, who was his eldest Brother's Widow, should be admitted to be void; yet according to the *Civilians* she might have a Title by Descent. For it seems they hold, that the Issue of such a Marriage made *bona fide*, shall be look'd upon as legitimate, before a legal Separation, tho' the Marriage should afterwards be declared void. And if ever there was a Marriage of this Nature made *bona fide*, this was: For it was made upon the most mature Advice and Deliberation; and the Parties continu'd Man and Wife near twenty Years, before any Objection was made to the Legality of it. But further; as to her Parliamentary Title, there is indeed a Provision in the Act (for limiting the Succession of the Crown,) that their Estate should be subject to such Condition as King *Henry VIII.* should prescribe by his last Will. But King *Henry* making their Marriage without the Consent of the Council the *only* Condition to defeat their Estate, and the Princess *Mary* not marrying before her Accession, the Limitation of the Crown to her became absolute; and consequently, besides her Title by Descent, she had as good a Title as the Legislature could confer upon her.

She was crown'd on the first of *October 1553.*

As to the Pretensions of the Lady *Jane Grey* to the Crown, I shall consider them in the Review of this Reign.

There were several Treaties set on foot for the Marriage of the Princess *Mary* in her Father's Life-time, namely, with the Emperor, the King of *Scots*, and the Duke of *Orleans*; but none of them took Effect. In the second Year of her Reign she married Prince *Philip*, Son to the Emperor *Charles V.* but had no Issue by him. She died on the 17th Day of *November*, in the 43d Year of her Age, and the 6th of her Reign, *A. D.* 1558.

Her Marriage.

Her Age and Death.

Our

Our Author, in the Character he gives her, says: Her Character.
 As to her Person, as she was not very amiable, so she was without any Deformity. Nor did she want Parts or Understanding; but had the Advantages of Learning, and a good Understanding in the *Latin* Tongue. She was a Woman of a strict and severe Life, who allowed herself few of the Diversions belonging to Courts; was constant at her Devotions, and violently addicted to the Interests and Humours of the *Romish* Priests. She had great Resentments of her Usage in her Father's and Brother's Reign, which easily induced her to take her Revenge; tho' she colour'd it with her Zeal against Heresy. She much endeavour'd to expiate and restore the Sacrileges of the two last Reigns; besides which laudable Intention, a froward Sort of Virtue, and a melancholy Piety, are the best things that can be said of her. Her former Dissimulations, her publick Breach of Faith to the *Suffolk* Gentlemen and others, and her barbarous Cruelties to those called *Hereticks*, are inexcusable Blemishes in her Character. And God thought fit to punish her with a barren Womb, and an untimely Death, and the World with a blasted Name; which has made an indelible Impression of Horror upon the Nation. To conclude: Her Death was as little lamented as of any that had worn the Crown, excepting by the *Popish* Clergy: And had it not been for the two worthy Foundations of *Trinity* and *St. John's* Colleges in *Oxford*, there had been scarce any thing in this Reign to have made it memorable, besides the Calamities and Misfortunes of it.

The Regency and Privy Council to the late King *Edward VI.* having determined to advance the Lady *Jane Grey* to the Throne, according to the Appointment they had prevail'd on him to make in his last Illness, they conceal'd King *Edward's* Death for some

A Review of
 the Reign of
 Queen *Mary*.

some Days, in hopes of getting the Princess *Mary* into their Power, having sent her an Invitation in her Brother's Name to attend him in his Sickness. The Princess being come within half a Day's Journey of *London*, there received Intelligence of her Brother's Death, and of the Conspiracy against her. Whereupon she sent a Letter to the Privy Council to let them know that she was not unacquainted with their Designs, and required them to return to their Duty, and then retir'd to *Framingham* Castle in *Suffolk*.

The Privy Council, upon the Receipt of this Letter, finding the King's Death was no longer a Secret, attended the Lady *Jane Grey*, and informed her that King *Edward* had appointed her his Successor. But 'tis said she very unwillingly took upon her the Title of Queen. After this, Archbishop *Cranmer*, and about twenty more of the Nobility and Privy Council, wrote a Letter to the Princess *Mary*, declaring that they look'd upon Queen *Jane* as their lawful Sovereign; not only upon Account of King *Edward's* having appointed her to succeed him, but because she (the Princess *Mary*) was illegitimate: And therefore they required her to recede from her Pretensions to the Crown, and submit to the present Establishment. And they proceeded on the 11th of *July* to proclaim the Lady *Jane* Queen, with the usual Solemnity.

About the same time the Princess *Mary* caus'd her self to be proclaim'd Queen at *Norwich*; and many of the Nobility and Gentry of *Suffolk*, and other Parts of *England*, resorted to her; to whom, 'tis said, she promis'd to make no Alteration in Religion, if they would stand by her.

The Duke of *Northumberland*, with about eight thousand Horse and Foot, march'd out of *London* against her; and Bishop *Ridley*, and the most popular Preachers,

Preachers, were employed in Preaching up the Lady *Jane's* Title in Town, as others were at *Cambridge* by the Duke of *Northumberland* on his Arrival there.

Notwithstanding these Precautions, Queen *Mary* was proclaim'd in several Counties; and many of the Troops, that were levy'd for the Lady *Jane*, deserted in entire Bodies over to Queen *Mary*; which the Privy Council understanding, made a sudden Turn, caus'd the Lady *Jane* to relinquish the Title of Queen, and, with the Assistance of the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, proclaim'd Queen *Mary* in the City on the 19th of *July*: And even the Duke of *Northumberland* himself proclaim'd her at *Cambridge*, and dismiss'd his Forces; but was, notwithstanding, committed to the *Tower*, with the Lady *Jane*, and her Husband the Lord *Dudley*, and two other of the Duke's Sons.

Queen *Mary* soon after made a triumphant Entry into *London*; and coming to the *Tower*, she releas'd the old Duke of *Norfolk*, Bishop *Gardiner*, the Duchesse of *Somerset*, and the Lord *Courtney*, who had been many Years Prisoners there: And Bishop *Gardiner* was made Lord Chancellor and prime Minister.

The Duke of *Northumberland*, and his Son the Earl of *Warwick*, with the Marquis of *Northampton*, being brought upon their Trials, they insisted in their Defence, that they acted by the Authority of the Privy Council, and under the Broad Seal of *England*. To which it was reply'd, That the Privy Council, or Broad Seal of one that was not a lawful Queen, could not indemnify them. Our Accounts of this Proceeding are very short. But from what I can collect of their Defence, it seems to be founded on the 11th of *Henry VII. Cap. 1.* which indemnifies those who act in the Behalf of a King *de facto*. And this might have been a tolerable Defence, had the Lady *Jane* been in the Possession of the

the whole Kingdom. But I think it is held, that where there are two Competitors, one *de facto* in Possession of one Part of the Kingdom, and the other of another Part of it, that Prince, in whom the Right really is of the two, shall be deem'd Sovereign of the Whole, though the wrong Doer is really in Possession of Part of his Dominions. And if half a dozen Rebels or Usurpers should arise at one time in a Prince's Dominions, and each of them procure himself to be proclaim'd King; yet as long as the rightful Prince retains the Possession of any Part, we should make no Difficulty in acknowledging him Sovereign of the Whole. For if the assuming the Name of King would confer any Right, we should never want Pretenders. And Queen *Mary* was really, and of Right Queen, the Moment her Brother died: That was the Day of her Accession: The Proclamation afterwards was only an Evidence of it.

But there is a further Answer given to that Plea, founded upon the 11th of *Hen. VII.* as to the Lawfulness of adhering to a King *de facto*; and that is, that it is provided by that very Act, that no Person should have the Benefit of that Act, who should afterwards decline from his Allegiance. Now, say they, the taking Arms against a lawful Prince is certainly a declining from our Allegiance: And therefore the Duke of *Northumberland* and his Followers could not pretend to receive any Benefit by it. But I must say, if this Interpretation be admitted, then had this Act no Meaning at all. For how is it possible to assist a King *de facto*, without declining in our Allegiance to the King *de jure*? And such Constructions as plainly defeat the Design and Intent of an Act ought ever to be rejected. I am apt to believe this Proviso was intended by King *Henry VII.* purely to secure his own Possession, and had relation
only

only to that Reign; tho' I would be glad to see a more natural and rational Interpretation of it.

But to return to the Trials of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Earl of *Warwick*, and the Marquis of *Northampton*: Their Plea being over-ruled, they all pleaded guilty, and receiv'd Sentence as Traitors; and Sir *Thomas Palmer*, and Sir *John Gates*, being try'd the next Day, and convicted, were executed with the Duke, the rest being repriev'd.

The Duke, at his Execution, declar'd he had been always of the old Religion, (a Papist) in which he died, and was sorry he had been induced by his Interest to prevaricate.

The Laws being yet in Force for the establishing the Protestant Religion, Archbishop *Cranmer* buried King *Edward VI.* on the 8th Day of *August* at *Westminster*, according to the new Service, and ended the Solemnity with the administering the Sacrament, as was usual in those Days.

The Queen profess'd her self to be a Papist; but declared she should not compel others to be of her Religion, till publick Order should be taken in it by common Consent. However a Prohibition came out, that none should take upon them to preach without her Majesty's special Licence.

The *Suffolk* Gentlemen applying to her in Behalf of their Preachers, and claiming her Promise on her Accession, *That she would make no Alteration in the established Religion*, it is said they were severely reprehended: And one of them seeming to cast some Reflections upon her, was set in the Pillory. And now Images were again introduced into Churches: And Judge *Hales*, who had so strenuously asserted the Queen's Title in the late Reign, for giving it in Charge to the Justices, in his Circuit, to see King *Edward's* Laws that were still in force, executed, was deprived of his Office, and committed to Prison.

Archbishop

*† Day Bp of
Chichester, as
Bp Godwin re-
lates in his
Annals of L.M.
preach'd the
sermon & ba-
r'd him.*

Archbishop *Cramer* and *Latimer* were also imprisoned; and several Preachers, and others of the reformed Religion, apprehending what would follow, fled beyond Sea.

A Parliament being call'd, all Treasons were again reduc'd to the 25th of *Edward III.* The Laws of King *Edward* relating to Religion were repeal'd; as also the Acts declaring the Queen illegitimate. And she was so far from demanding any Taxes this Session, that she popularly remitted those that were granted the last Parliament.

Archbishop *Cramer*, *Guildford Dudley*, and the Lady *Jane* his Wife, were now brought to their Trials upon Indictments of High Treason, in levying War against the Queen; and all of them pleaded guilty. The Queen thought fit to pardon the Archbishop as to his Life for this Offence, and reprieved the other two.

The Queen entering into a Treaty with the Emperor *Charles V.* concerning a Marriage between her and his Son Prince *Philip*, the Nation was mightily alarmed at it, apprehending they should be brought under the *Spanish* Yoke. And the Commons addressing her Majesty with a little too much Heat not to marry a Foreigner, they were dissolved.

The Emperor having set his Heart much upon the Match with *England*, it is said, transmitted 400,000 *l.* hither; which was so prudently distributed among our Ministers and Senators, that Articles of Marriage were soon concluded. The most material whereof were, that the Administration should be solely in the Queen, and the Prince should have only the Stile and Title of King in all Writs and Instruments, and his Name and Effigies on the Coin. No *Spaniard* was to be capable of any Office. The Queen was to have a Jointure of 60,000 *l.* per Annum. If she had a Son, he was to enjoy *Burgundy* and

and the *Netherlands*, together with *England*; and if a Daughter, she was to inherit *England*, and have the Portion of a Daughter of *Spain*: And none of their Issue were to go out of *England* without the Consent of the Nobility.

This Treaty occasion'd Conspiracies in several Parts of *England*: But being discover'd, none of them came to any great Head, except that in *Kent*, where Sir *Thomas Wyatt* was their Leader. It seems he assembled some thousands of People, and march'd up to *London* in a hostile manner, expecting the Citizens would have join'd him; but finding himself disappointed, he surrender'd himself, and the Multitude were dispers'd.

The Duke of *Suffolk*, the Father of the Lady *Jane Grey*, was in this Conspiracy, and made a faint Attempt towards an Insurrection in the *Midland* Counties; but not finding the People come in to him, as he expected, he fled, and was taken Prisoner, and afterwards committed to the *Tower*. This ill-concerted Rebellion brought on the Death of his Daughter the Lady *Jane*, and her Husband *Dudley*, who were now brought to their Execution, after they had been Prisoners about six Months. The Duke, and Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, and about fifty eight of their Followers, were also convicted and executed. It seems *Wyat* had accus'd the Princess *Elizabeth* and the Earl of *Devon* of being in the Conspiracy; but he retracted it again at his Execution. However, the Government thought fit to commit them both to the *Tower*.

This Rebellion, and the Executions that follow'd, establish'd Queen *Mary* on her Throne; insomuch that none dar'd to move his Hand or Tongue against her for the future. She found her self now in a Condition to make what Alterations in Religion she pleas'd: And accordingly she caus'd the
Archbishop

Archbishop of *York*, and three other Bishops, to be depriv'd for marrying Wives ; and three others were depriv'd, who held their Bishopricks during Pleasure. *Scory*, Bishop of *Chichester*, renounc'd his Wife, and fled beyond Sea ; and *Barlow*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, resign'd, and fled. And by this means there happen'd so many vacant Bishopricks, that sixteen new Bishops were made : And of sixteen thousand Clergymen, that were then computed to be in *England*, it is said no less than twelve thousand were turn'd out, on a summary Proceeding, for being married ; and the old Service was reviv'd in several Places before any Act pass'd for it.

A second Parliament being assembled, the Articles of Marriage between the Queen and Prince *Philip* were revis'd and ratified. And they seem to be so apparently for the Advantage of *England*, (if a Match with a Foreigner can be made so) that it is something difficult to believe the *Spaniards* brib'd the *English* Ministry so high to consent to them, as is suggested by many Writers ; especially when we find Bishop *Gardiner's* Wisdom so much applauded, for contriving them so advantageously for the *English*, by the very same Writers.

In the Year 1554, that it might be imagin'd that Reason and Argument, as well as Force, had a Share in the Nation's Return to Popery, Archbishop *Cramer*, with Bishop *Ridley* and *Latimer*, were sent down to *Oxford*, to dispute with the Popish Doctors before a Committee of the Convocation ; where 'tis said they were so unfairly treated, and run down with Noise, that it put an End to all Disputes of this kind ; the rest of the reformed Bishops and Divines refusing to enter into any Disputes for the future, unless they were managed in Writing, or before the Parliament, or the Queen in Council.

On the 20th of *July*, 1554, Prince *Philip* arriv'd at *Southampton*, and was met at *Winchester* by the Queen, where their Marriage was solemnized by Bishop *Gardiner*, on the 25th of the same Month, the Prince being then in the 27th Year of his Age, and the Queen in the 38th of hers. The Emperor by his Ambassador, at the Solemnization of the Marriage, transferred his Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Jerusalem* to his Son. And 'tis said the Prince brought an immense Treasure with him to *England*, and that the greatest Part of it was distributed in the Court and Senate: And yet even this could not presently reconcile the Nation to his *Spanish* Pride and Stiffness. At his coming to *London* he procur'd the Princess *Elizabeth* and the Earl of *Devonshire* their Liberties, and a Pardon for the Archbishop of *York*; which, next to the Distribution of his Treasure, were the most popular Acts he could have begun with.

A third Parliament being call'd, the Queen omitted her Title of *Supreme Head of the Church*, in the Writs of Summons, which she had us'd hitherto, and divested her self of that Authority she had exercis'd in the beginning of her Reign in ecclesiastical Affairs.

In this Parliament Cardinal *Pool*'s Attainder was revers'd, and he came into *England* with the Title of Legate from the Pope. He made a Speech to the King and Queen, and afterwards to both Houses of Parliament, inviting them to return to the Bosom of the Church; at which the Queen feeling an unusual Emotion of Joy, is said to imagine her self to become quick with Child at that very Instant; and Bishop *Bonner* was ordered to sing *Te Deum* at *St. Paul's* upon the happy Occasion.

Both Houses of Parliament address'd the King and Queen, that they would intercede with the Legate to reconcile them to the See of *Rome*, offering

to repeal all the Laws against that See, in Token of their Repentance; whereupon the Cardinal came to the Parliament, and gave them and the whole Nation a plenary Absolution, which all present receiv'd upon their Knees: After which, *Te Deum* was sung, and the Day concluded with Bonfires, and other Demonstrations of Joy.

In this Parliament, all Acts made against the Pope's Authority since the 20th of *Hen. VIII.* were repeal'd. But at the same time, all Foundations of Bishopricks, all Marriages and Judicial Proceedings, and all Alienations of Church and Abbey Lands, were again ratified in Parliament, and confirm'd by the Legate; tho' he did not fail to put them in mind of the Judgments of God upon those who retained the Goods and Patrimony of the Church. The Acts against Lollards also were reviv'd; and another Statute was made, which provided, that if the King and Queen should have Children between them, the King should have the Regency and Government of them during their Minority, if he surviv'd the Queen. And it was made High Treason to conspire his Death during his Regency.

In the third Year of this Reign, *A. D. 1555*, begun the Persecution of the Protestants; and *Rogers*, a Prebendary of *St. Paul's*, was the first Martyr. He refus'd any Submission to the Church of *Rome*, and profess'd that he look'd upon her as Anti-christian. And tho' he was offered a Pardon at the Stake on his Submission, he refus'd it, and said, *He resign'd up his Life with Joy, in Testimony of the Doctrine he had preach'd.* Bishop *Hooper* was a little after burnt for Heresy at *Gloucester*, where he had been Bishop. He was also offer'd a Pardon at the Stake, if he would reconcile himself to the Church of *Rome*; but he refus'd. The Bishops *Ridley* and *Latimer* were also burnt

burnt at *Oxford*, and about sixty seven other Persons, in several Parts of *England*, this Year.

Pope *Julius* issuing a Bull of Excommunication against all those who detain'd Abbey Lands, the Queen relinquish'd those that remain'd in the Possession of the Crown, with the First-fruits and Tenths, to be disposed of as Cardinal *Pool* should think fit. In *May* this Year the Queen was reported to be delivered of a Son; and it gain'd such Credit, that *Te Deum* was officiously sung in many Churches. Whether there was a false Conception, an Abortion, or what it was that gave Occasion to this Report, our Historians don't take upon them to inform us. But they say, King *Philip*, either upon some Disgust, or despairing to have any Children by her, soon after left the Kingdom. And this Year his Father, the great Emperor *Charles V.* resigned all his Dominions; upon which, *Philip* became King of *Spain*, where he generally resided afterwards.

This was the greatest Emperor the Western World had seen for many Ages. And he was not only possess'd of large Dominions in *Europe*, but became Sovereign of several Kingdoms and Empires in *America*; particularly of *Pern* and *Mexico*, where were discovered those rich Mines that have supply'd *Europe* with the greatest Part of its Treasure ever since.

This Emperor having enjoy'd his Hereditary Dominions forty Years, and the Empire thirty six, declar'd he thought *there ought to be an Interval between the Affairs of this World, and the Hour of Death*, and retir'd into a Cloister; where, having spent about two Years in Acts of Piety and Devotion, he died.

In the beginning of the Year 1556 Archbishop *Cranmer* was try'd for Heresy at *Oxford*, by Commissioners appointed by the Pope's Legate, Cardinal

Dr Cole
Pool, for that Purpose; and being convicted, he was formally degraded. After this, he was prevail'd on to sign a Recantation of his Principles, in hopes of Life. Notwithstanding which, it was determined to burn him; which, 'tis said, they kept him ignorant of till the very Day they intended to execute him, being the 21st of *March*; when they carried him to *St. Mary's Church*, and having set him in the most conspicuous Place, a Sermon was preached, wherein the Preacher exhorted him to persist in the Faith he had lately profess'd, and acquainted him he was to die that Day. This was some Surprise to the Archbishop at first: But recollecting himself, he boldly renounced all the Errors of the Church of *Rome* again, and bewail'd his Weakness in complying with them; and assur'd the Audience, that his right Hand, which had sign'd his Recantation, should be first consum'd in the Fire. And this 'tis said he resolutely made good at his Execution. He was put to Death in the 67th Year of his Age, and in the 23d of his Primacy, *A. D. 1556*.

The Day after Archbishop *Cranmer's* Death, Cardinal *Pool* was made Archbishop of *Canterbury*. This Year the Protestants were burnt in Crowds: No less than eleven Men and two Women were burnt in one Fire at *Stratford*; and it seems they did not spare even the Blind or Lame.

The next Year, 1557, because the Justices of Peace were thought too remiss in prosecuting Hereticks, a special Commission issued to enquire after them; and there were burnt in all about two hundred eighty four Protestants in this Reign, according to *Fox*; besides many that died in Prison.

The King of *Spain* visited his Queen this Year, and drew *England* into a War against *France* and his Holiness, which occasion'd the Loss of *Calais*; for the Duke of *Guise* sat down before that Town, and finding

finding it unprovided, as well of Troops, as other Necessaries for a Defence, took it in a Week's time.

'Tis said the Queen was so much griev'd at King *Philip's* Absence and Neglect of her, the want of Issue, and the late loss of *Calais*, that it brought on her those Indispositions that occasion'd her Death; in which she was accompany'd by Cardinal *Pool*, who expir'd the same Day.

Notwithstanding this Princess was induc'd to command or permit many Acts of Cruelty and Oppression in her Reign, urg'd and excited to them by furious Priests and the Votaries of a bloody Religion, she was certainly herself of a merciful Temper and Disposition, as appears by her pardoning so many who were in the Conspiracy to exclude her from the Throne in the Beginning of her Reign: Even her Rival, the Lady *Jane Grey*, was repriev'd some Months; and, probably, had never been executed but for *Wyat's* Rebellion, in which her Father, the Duke of *Suffolk*, bore a considerable Part. And I question very much, if it had not been for that unsuccessful Insurrection, whether an Alteration of Religion had been attempted; for it is observable, that Archbishop *Cranmer*, though obnoxious enough on account of opposing the Queen's Title, was yet suffer'd to bury King *Edward* according to the Rites of the reform'd Religion; and Cardinal *Pool* was long prohibited coming into *England*, for fear of giving Offence to the People.

But this Rebellion being suppress'd, and the Protestants, who were suppos'd to foment it, being upon that account render'd obnoxious, and in fear of being charg'd with High-Treason, durst after this make no manner of Opposition to whatever the Queen propos'd. Add to this, that the *Spanish* Match afforded Treasure enough to bribe both

Reflections
on the Reign
and Character
of Queen
Mary.

Court and Senate. And the People being thus influenced by their Fears on one hand, and their Hopes of Gain and Preferments on the other, their Change of Religion, and the repealing all those Laws they had been making for seven Years before to extirpate Popery, is the less to be wonder'd at. I rather wonder to see so many Heros in that Age, on whom no temporal Motives could prevail to deny their Principles, and forfeit their Hopes of a happy Futurity. These Gentlemen, who submitted to the most cruel Torments in Testimony of the Truth, and procur'd for us the glorious Privileges of thinking and acting rationally, ought for ever to be gratefully remember'd.

Many, very many, absurd and ridiculous Tenets are the Sons of Popery oblig'd to *profess*, I was going to say, *believe*: But 'tis not in the Power of Man to believe Contradictions.

And it is the Happiness only of Protestants, that they are not oblig'd to *profess* any thing but upon rational Grounds. It is, indeed, the common Ambition of all Men to desire to be believ'd upon their bare Words, and that the rest of the World should submit to their particular Opinions and Judgments: And there are a Set of Protestants, that are still ready to resign their Understanding to this or that admir'd Preacher; at least, I am very well assur'd their Preachers expect they should. But for what did our Fore-fathers lay down their Lives, if, instead of one infallible old Gentleman, we entertain a Pope in every Congregation?

And were these modern Popes possess'd of equal Power, whether they would not use equal Severities to compel us to come into their Schemes, is not to be made a Doubt of, in a Nation that has had such a Specimen of their Moderation. Prisons and Sequestrations, Gibbets and Axes, fall little short of Fire and Faggot.

But

But it will be demanded ; What, is Religion to have no Fences ? Is it to be expos'd to the Scorn and Insult of every daring Atheist or profligate Villain ? No certainly, it ought to be secur'd in all Cases with temporal Penalties, where it is apparent the Conscience is not forc'd.

For example, the divine Law, the *Ten Commandments*, may very well be inforc'd by temporal Laws in a Christian Country ; because 'tis impossible the Conscience of any Christian can make a Scruple of obeying them : And it is plainly Obstinacy, or something worse, that induces a Man to refuse his Submission to them.

Again, wherever a Man's Principles tend to Sedition and Rebellion, or to the Detriment of the Society where he lives, and he refuses to be quiet and to keep them to himself, the Civil Power may justly lay hold of him and punish him ; for 'tis impossible that any Government can subsist, where the Subject is permitted a Liberty of reviling his Governors, and conspiring against them with Impunity. It is not Religion, but Ambition or Interest that prompts Men to these Extravagancies, whatever they may pretend.

But when we have made these Concessions, we may still detest those Persuasions (Religions they ought never to be call'd) that consign Men to the Flames in this World, and to eternal Damnation in the next, because they cannot think as they do, and subscribe to every Absurdity they are pleas'd to dictate.

It was unhappy for the Queen, as well as her Subjects, that she fell into the Hands of so vile a Generation. I don't find she was destitute of those Endowments that are requisite to adorn a Throne, and promote the Benefit of her People : We see no Instances of her Cruelty or Oppression in her Reign,

but what this accurs'd Religion inspir'd her with; no Inclinations to pillage her People, or render herself arbitrary. She held frequent Parliaments, and demanded but slender Supplies, notwithstanding she restor'd the Church-Lands in her Possession; and had she been guided by her natural Inclinations, her Memory might have been in as high Esteem among us, as some other Princes, who now make a more desirable Figure in History.



ELIZABETH.

1558.



Her Title.

ELIZABETH was the only Daughter of *Henry VIII.* by his second Wife *Anne Bullen* (Daughter of *Thomas Bullen* Earl of *Wiltshire*) one of the Maids of Honour to Queen *Katherine*. She had an hereditary Title to the Crown, if King *Henry's* Marriage with his Brother's Wife, the Princess *Katherine*, was void, as the *English* Divines, and many of the foreign Universities held. But however that be, her Parliamentary Title was unquestionable, the Succession of the Crown being limited to her by *Name*, upon Failure of Issue of her eldest Sister *Mary*.

Her Age and Death.

Queen *Elizabeth* was crown'd on the 13th of *January* 1559. She died a Virgin on the 24th of *March*, in the 45th Year of her Reign, and the 70th of her Age, *A. D.* 1603; of whom our Author gives the following Character.

Her Character.

He says, she died covered with all the Glories of this World, and nobly qualify'd for those of the next,

next, having had all the Virtues and Accomplishments of her mighty Father, and scarce any of his Vices and Imperfections; only she was in some Cases a little too parsimonious, and a little too liable to Passion, and the Love of Flattery. The News of her Death immediately fill'd the Court, the City, and the whole Nation, with such Floods of Tears, and produc'd such Marks of inexpressible Sorrow, as were never known before: And in reality, no Prince, since the Creation, had ever more sincerely the Hearts of their Subjects, than this illustrious Queen. We have before given the Character of her Person, and mentioned her Qualifications, all which are still more compleatly learnt from the History of her Reign; which, if the Goodness and Excellency of it may be measured by the great Happiness of the People, may justly be esteemed the most glorious yet extant in our Annals. The Wisdom, the Grandeur, and the Fame of it, have been largely celebrated and display'd by the noblest Pens both at home and abroad. At Rome, where she was both hated and excommunicated, Pope *Sixtus Quintus* us'd to speak with the greatest Honour of her Government, and profanely wish'd he might enjoy her but one Night, that he might beget a second *Alexander the Great*. Her Court was as compleat an Academy of honourable Counsellors, illustrious Peers, gallant Courtiers, learned Professors, and profound Politicians, as ever attended any Christian Prince. And as her great Statesmen reflected new Lustre upon her own Wisdom and Understanding, in making so worthy a Choice; so she never was so happy in her Choice, as when she govern'd by her own Judgment, without the Advice of others. Having surmounted the chiefest Difficulties in Church and State, one of her great Observations was, *That the People of England were more governable*

governable in Times of War than in Times of Peace. Tho' she never thirsted after any unjust Enlargement of her Dominions, yet the great Affairs of *Europe* principally depended upon her Directions; while sitting at the Helm of all, she arbitrated, and guided their Estates both in Peace and War. *Spain* endeavouring to overflow all, was driven back, and scarce able to maintain its own Banks. In *France*, the House of *Valois* was happily supported by her Counsels; that of *Bourbon* advanced by her Countenance, Forces, and Treasure; *Scotland* reliev'd by her Love; the *Netherlands* by her Power; *Portugal's* King by her Bounty; and *Poland* by her Commiseration. Likewise *Germany*, *Denmark*, and *Swedeland*, often took up and laid down Arms at her Pleasure and Disposal. Nor could the utmost Bounds of *Europe*, *Russia*, and *Tartary*, limit the Extent of her great Fame; but it spread further into the more remote Parts of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America*, among the *Turks*, the *Persians*, *Barbarians*, and *Indians*; in most of whose Dominions, to the great enriching of her Kingdom, she settled Commerce, and gain'd large Privileges for the Encouragement of her Merchants, whom she cherished as a most necessary and important Part of her Commonwealth.

Notwithstanding all the various Excellencies of this Reign, and the admirable Virtues and Qualifications of the Queen herself, we ought not to dismiss her Character, without taking notice of the real Spots and Blemishes of the Government both as to Church and State. The Establishment of the Reformation has been justly accounted one of the great Glories of this Reign, and what procured the Blessings of Heaven upon it for so many Years: Yet in the same Parliament the Queen consented to several unjustifiable Incroachments upon the Lands and Revenues of the Church, for which it suffers to
this

this Day, tho' some have been lately gloriously restor'd; not to mention several other bold Attempts in this Reign. The other Blemish is the mysterious Proceedings in the *Scotch* Affairs, and strange Treatment of the Queen of *Scotland*: But this is candidly interpreted to be more her great Misfortune than her real Fault; as the other is thought by some to have been occasioned more by her Ignorance in that very Case, and from the Necessities of that infirm Juncture of Affairs; though some Alienations of the Church Revenues cannot be excus'd. Besides, these several Scandals have been charg'd upon her by some implacable and malignant Pens, which being as much beneath the Dignity of History, as they are short of Probability, are better omitted than recited. But if we set aside the aforementioned Particulars, and consider the whole Reign in general, we find in it the most surprizing and amazing thing in the World, that all that is great and glorious should be managed, and the chief Affairs of *Europe* should move and be directed by a Woman's Nod. This, for a whole hundred Years, has been a continued Subject of Admiration, 'till the new Wonders of our present Age began to eclipse all the Glories of former Times; and, to our inexpressible Joy, have nobly convinced us, that as the greatest Magnanimity is agreeable to the sweetest Disposition, so no Attempt can be too extensive, or Enterprize too great for the Female Sex.

Queen *Mary* dying the 17th of *November*, the Parliament was acquainted with it the next Day, and Queen *Elizabeth* was proclaim'd with great Solemnity. She was at that time at *Hatfield* in *Hertfordshire*, and came to *London* on the 19th, being met in her Way thither by all the Bishops at *Highgate*, whom she received very graciously, except *Bonner*, Bishop of *London*; who having distinguish'd himself by his
barbarous

A Review of
the Reign of
Queen *Elizabeth*.

barbarous Cruelties to the Reformed, she thought fit to discountenance.

The Queen, it seems, notified her Accession to the Pope, as well as other foreign Princes; but the haughty old Gentleman taking upon him to resent her mounting the Throne without his Leave, she recall'd her Ambassador, and kept no further Correspondence with that Court.

The Queen order'd all Prisoners to be discharg'd, who were committed on account of Religion; but still she thought fit to continue the Privy-Council her Sister left; and declared against too hasty Changes in Religion, that were not warranted by lawful Authority: Notwithstanding which, those who had fled for their Religion being returned, and joining with the Mob, fell to pulling down of Images in many Places.

She celebrated the late Queen's Funeral with great Magnificence; and *White*, Bishop of *Winchester*, preaching the Funeral Sermon, highly applauded the late Reign, and lamented the present State of Affairs; for which he was confined to his House.

Archbishop *Heath*, not approving the Alterations in Religion, which he saw were about to be made, resign'd the Great Seal, which was given to Sir *Nicholas Bacon* (Father of the famous Sir *Francis*) who was made Lord Keeper.

On the 13th of *January* 1559, Queen *Elizabeth* was crown'd at *Westminster*, according to the *Roman* Pontifical, by Dr. *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, all the other Bishops refusing to assist at the Ceremony. The Queen being about to make great Alterations in Religion, and finding the Treasury very much exhausted, thought fit to conclude a Peace with *France* and *Scotland*: Whereby it was stipulated, that the *French* should retain *Calais* eight Years,

Years, and then restore it, or pay the Crown of *England* 500,000 Pounds. These were the best Terms could be procur'd at that Juncture; for King *Philip*, on whose Account the *English* had enter'd into the War with *France*, being disgusted on the Queen's refusing to marry him, was about making a separate Peace with *France*.

A new Parliament being called to meet on the 23d of *January*, 1559, their first Business was to undo all that had been done in relation to Religion in the last Reign. They pass'd an Act abolishing all foreign Power, and restor'd the ancient Jurisdiction of the Crown, repeal'd the Statutes against the Reformed, and impow'ed the Queen to appoint Commissioners to exercise ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and to visit, reform, redress, and correct, all Errors, Heresies, Schisms, and Abuses in the Church. Upon this Act the Authority of the High-Commission-Court was founded, (which was so much clamour'd at in the following Reigns) and the Oath of Supremacy was by this Act requir'd to be taken by all ecclesiastical Persons and civil Officers.

Another Act pass'd in this Parliament recognizing the Queen's Title, wherein they acknowledge her to be their lawful Queen by a rightful and *lineal Descent from the Blood Royal*. They also restor'd the Tenth and First-fruits, and the Impropriations, to the Crown, which Queen *Mary* had given away; and impow'ed her Majesty to take such of the Bishops Lands as she thought fit, upon the Vacancy of any See, allowing them an Equivalent in Tithes: And in this first Session pass'd the Act for the Uniformity of publick Prayers, and Administration of the Sacraments. And all religious Houses and Nunneries founded in Queen *Mary's* Reign were suppress'd.

Upon the passing these Acts, fourteen Bishops, and near two hundred Clergymen more, dignified and not dignified, were depriv'd, for refusing to conform and take the Oath of Supremacy; and several Popish Priests inveighing against these Proceedings, all Clergymen were prohibited to preach without the Royal License. And as in the last Reign, so in this, a Conference was appointed to be held between the Protestant and Popish Divines, upon some of the principal Points in Dispute between them; with this Difference, that the Dispute in the last Reign was held before a Committee of the Convocation, at Oxford; and this at Westminster-Abbey, before the Council and both Houses of Parliament. But the Voice of the People being now on the Protestant Side, the Popish Bishops refus'd to continue the Conference; and the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln declar'd, *It was giving too great Encouragement to Hereticks to dispute with them; and that the Queen and Council ought to be excommunicated for suffering Disputes against the Catholick Faith before an unlearned Multitude.* Whereupon they were committed to the Tower. But what will remain an eternal Honour to this Queen, and the Reformation, is, that notwithstanding all the barbarous Cruelties exercis'd upon the Protestants in the last Reign, they did not endeavour to retaliate Injury for Injury, or Burning for Burning, or use Severities towards any of the Papists; and notwithstanding the Swarms of Sermons and seditious Libels that were published against the present Establishment, only three Bishops were detain'd in Prison, viz. Bonner, White, and Watson. The rest, with the Nuns and Religious, had liberty to go out of England, or stay, as they saw fit. And so little were the People offended with these Alterations, that both Protestants and Papists came to Church, and conform'd,

form'd, the first ten Years of this Reign; till the Jesuits had instill'd their rebellious King-killing Principles into the *English* Papists, and fomented wicked Plots and Conspiracies against the Government: And then the Kingdom found it necessary to make some severe Laws against them, to secure itself. But to look back a little: Dr. *Parker* was on the 17th of *December* consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury* by four of the reformed Bishops, who had been deprived in the last Reign; and afterwards all the rest of the vacant Sees were filled.

The Parliament dreading another Alteration in Religion, if the Queen should happen to die without Issue, they address'd her to marry; but could not prevail with her. And upon all Applications of this Nature, she shew'd great Aversion to a married Life. She would sometimes entertain Proposals of this Nature from foreign Princes, as she did particularly from the Duke of *Anjou*, and afterwards from the Duke of *Alençon*, who came into *England*, and made his Addresses personally; but they never succeeded, the Queen seeming to have some other View in these Negotiations, than the Disposal of her Person.

In the Year 1559, the reformed Religion spread mightily in *Scotland*; but it was not introduc'd in that legal regular way it was in *England*. The Protestant Lords, or Lords of the Congregation, as they were call'd, actually rose in Rebellion, depos'd the Queen Regent, (Mother to the present Queen, who was with the Dauphin her Husband in *France*) plundered and rifled the Churches and religious Houses, and seiz'd the Possessions and Revenues of the Church by Violence. And this they were induc'd to do by the preaching of one *Knox*, a true Disciple of *Calvin*, who held the Sovereignty of the People over their Princes, and the Legality

Legality of deposing them, when they resisted what they call'd the true Religion, or when they did not, in their Opinion, study the true Interest of the People. But whatever Justice there might be in the Cause, Queen *Elizabeth* was soon convinc'd it was her Interest to support the Lords of the Congregational Way; and when the *French* sent Forces to the Assistance of the Queen Regent, she sent an Army to the Assistance of the Lords. But the Queen Regent soon after dying, and the Dauphin coming to be King of *France*, a Treaty was set on Foot between him and his Wife *Mary* Queen of *Scots* of the one part, and Queen *Elizabeth* and the Protestants of *Scotland* of the other; wherein it was agreed, that the *French* King, and *Mary* his Queen, should no longer quarter the Arms of *England*; and that during her Residence in *France*, the Regency of *Scotland* should be committed to twelve of the Natives, of whom seven should be named by the Queen of *Scots*, and five by the Lords of the Congregation; and Queen *Elizabeth*, by this seasonable Assistance she had given the Protestants of *Scotland*, gain'd such a Party there, that she influenc'd, or rather govern'd, the Affairs of that Kingdom, during the rest of her Reign. And as the Pope was perpetually stirring up the Catholick Princes against her, she was compell'd, for her own Preservation, to enter into Alliances, and support all the Protestant Powers in *Europe*, whether legally or illegally established. She certainly did not do it with any Intention to countenance the Rebellion of Subjects against their Sovereign, but purely to preserve herself and her People from that Destruction which the Pope and his Allies were continually contriving.

But before the See of *Rome* enter'd into those violent Measures against Queen *Elizabeth*, all the

Arts

Arts of Persuasion and Condescension were us'd to induce her to return to that Communion. 'Tis said, Pope *Pius* offered to reverse the Sentence against the Legality of her Mother's Marriage, to consent to the Common-Prayer Book being used in *English*, and that the Laity might receive the Communion in both Kinds; and sent his Nuncio as far as *Flanders* to treat with the Queen upon these Heads; but she prohibited his coming to *England*.

In the Year 1560, the Church of *England* was disturb'd by the *German* Anabaptists, and other foreign Hereticks, who deny'd the Divinity of our Saviour. They had transported themselves to *England*, looking upon this Kingdom as a Refuge for all Sects that differed from the Church of *Rome*; but the Queen made them sensible of their Error, and banish'd them the Kingdom.

This Year the Queen restor'd the Coin to its ancient Purity, having been extreamly debas'd in the preceding Reigns. She also increas'd and repair'd the Royal Navy, and fortify'd the Towns on the Borders of *Scotland*, and on the Sea Coasts.

In the Year 1561, the Queen of *Scots* having buried her Husband *Francis* King of *France*, return'd to *Scotland*. She did not endeavour to make any Alterations in the Protestant Religion, that had got such Footing in the Kingdom, tho' it had been so tumultuously introduc'd. But still there was no good Correspondence between her and Queen *Elizabeth*, the Eyes of all the Popish Party being fix'd upon the Queen of *Scots*, as next Heir to the Crown of *England*, and on whose Head they would have been glad to have fix'd it at present, and have deposed Queen *Elizabeth*, of which she was very sensible; and this was the real occasion of all those Hardships the Queen of *Scots* afterwards underwent.

In the Year 1562, the Protestant Religion had made such a Progress in *France*, that its Disciples became very formidable to the Government there. The Prince of *Conde*, and many great Men, espoused their Interest, and had made themselves Masters of several strong Towns. But still apprehending the Government might suppress them, they apply'd themselves to Queen *Elizabeth*, who sent them Supplies of Men and Money, and had *Havre de Grace* put into her Hands as a cautionary Town. But the next Year the Protestants and Papists in *France* coming to an Accommodation, they united their Forces against the *English*, and besieged *Havre de Grace*; and the Queen having no Inclination to enter into a War with the whole Kingdom, sent Orders to her Governor, the Earl of *Warwick*, to surrender the Town upon Terms, and return to *England* with his Garrison; which he did, and unfortunately brought the Plague with him, whereby many thousands were swept away in *London* and other Parts of the Kingdom.

Queen *Elizabeth* was not only jealous of the Queen of *Scots*, who was next in Blood to the Crown of *England*; but was equally set against the Lady *Katherine Grey*, who was next in Succession by the Will of *Henry VIII.* This Lady, it seems, married *Edward Seymour* Earl of *Hertford* without the Queen's Knowledge, and had a Son by him; which Queen *Elizabeth* was pleased to resent as such a Contempt of her Authority, that she committed both of them to the *Tower*; where, by the Conivance or Negligence of the Lieutenant, or his Warders, they came together again, and the Lady *Katherine* was deliver'd of another Son; at which the Queen was so piqu'd, that she turn'd Sir *Edward Warner*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, out of his Place, and caus'd the Earl to be fin'd five thousand Pounds

pounds in the Star-Chamber, and continued him in Prison nine Years. The Lady *Katherine* fell sick and died in the *Tower*, having first begg'd the Queen's Pardon for marrying without her Privity, and recommended her Children to her Clemency. And though Queen *Elizabeth*, to excuse these arbitrary Severities, pretended they were never married according to Law; yet they have been deem'd Man and Wife ever since, and the Issue of this Marriage inherited their Ancestors private Estates, though they never succeeded to the Crown, according to the Will of King *Henry VIII.* any more than the Issue of the Lady *Eleanor Brandon*, second Daughter of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*, to whom the Crown was limited by the said Act of Settlement, on Failure of lawful Issue of the Lady *Frances* the elder Sister, of whose Legitimacy there was no doubt. Probably, the Apprehension the People had entertained of the Benefits that would accrue to the Kingdom, and to the Protestant Religion, by the Union of the two Nations in King *James I.* together with Queen *Elizabeth's* appointing him her Successor, were the great Inducements to acquiesce in the *Scots* Title, and reject that of the *Suffolk* Family, though established by (the now so much admired Method of) an Act of Parliament. And I don't find but the *Ailsbury* and *Derby* Families, who descended from the Lady *Frances* and the Lady *Eleanor*, the two Daughters of the Duke of *Suffolk*, and Queen *Mary* the younger Sister of *Henry VIII.* have very contentedly let their Claims lie dormant ever since; and consequently, the Nation's Submission to the *Stuarts*, who are Heirs at Law, is very justifiable. It is a little strange however, that notwithstanding the Severities Queen *Elizabeth* us'd against the Queen of *Scots*, she should constantly recommend the Succession of her Issue; and arbi-

trarily imprisoned Mr. *Hales* for writing in Defence of the Title of the *Suffolk* Family, though he had an Act of Parliament for his Authority, and even the very Act that confirmed her own Title to the Crown.

At a Parliament held in the Year 1563, another Act pass'd, the better to establish and confirm the Queen's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs: And the Articles of the Church of *England* were the same Year settled by the Convocation, and reduc'd to the Number of thirty nine, as they are at this Day.

The Queen of *Scots* discovering some Disposition to marry again, Queen *Elizabeth*, to divert her matching with a Foreigner, propos'd her Favourite *Robert Dudley*, afterwards Earl of *Leicester*, to her for a Husband; and promis'd to secure the Crown of *England* to the Queen of *Scots* and her Issue, if she comply'd with the Proposal. But it seems the Queen of *Scots* chose rather to match with the Lord *Darnley*, Son to the Earl of *Lenox*, and Grandson to *Margaret* the eldest Daughter of *James IV.* who after herself was next in Blood to the Crown of *England*. Upon this Match the *Scots* took another Opportunity to rebel; but their Leaders were forced to fly into *England* for Refuge, and were protected by Queen *Elizabeth*, who was equally offended with the Match.

About this time, we are told, *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*, had so ingross'd the Favour of Queen *Elizabeth*, that he disposed of all Places of Honour and Profit as he pleased, and tyranniz'd over the rest of the Nobility to a very great Degree. And it is reckon'd some Reflection upon this Queen, that she was so intimate with, and even govern'd by a Gentleman of no Principles, one who was a perfect Rake and Debauchee, and sold her Favours to any that

had

had Money to purchase them; and had little to recommend him, but a beautiful Person, and good natural Parts, which I perceive his Enemies are willing to allow he was possess'd of.

In the Year 1566, the Queen visited *Oxford*, as she had *Cambridge* two Years before, being a great Friend to the Musés, and herself a Mistress of the learned Languages. She was highly delighted with their Disputations, and the other Entertainments she met with.

At her return to *London* she received the News of the Birth of Prince *James*, Son to the *Scotch* Queen, and afterwards King of *England* as well as *Scotland*. She was pleas'd to stand Godmother to him: But 'tis said she could not help repining a little at the Queen of *Scots* Happiness, in having a Son to succeed her; a Happiness which it seems was soon interrupted, by the King's Jealousy of *David Rizzio*, an *Italian*, who was once a Musician, and now advanced to be the Queen of *Scots* Secretary. This Man the King was made to believe was too intimate with the Queen; whereupon one Evening, with some Assistants, he broke into the Queen's Apartment; and finding *David Rizzio*, and some other Company, at Supper with her, they dragged *Rizzio* from the Table, as he hung upon the Queen in hopes to save his Life; and having brought him into the Gallery, there they dispatched him with their Swords. This created an irreparable Breach between the Queen and her Husband, according to the Expectation of their Enemies, who put the King upon this Enterprize. And it seems they were not contented with alienating the Queen's Affections from him; but they a little after murdered him in his Bed, and then blew up the House with Gunpowder, as if it had happen'd by Accident.

The Earl of *Murray*, the Queen's Bastard Brother, who had been the principal Contriver of the King's Death, propos'd her marrying again to the Earl of *Bothwell*; but he being obnoxious, on account of a Report of his being concern'd in the King's Murder too, she insisted upon his clearing himself of that Fact, before she would hearken to it. Whereupon a time was solemnly appointed for his Trial, and the Prosecutors summon'd to give Evidence against him; but no Body appearing against him, he was acquitted; whereupon *Bothwell* was married to the Queen.

The Earl of *Murray*, by persuading his Sister to this Match with a Person who was reported to be concerned in the Death of her Husband, having render'd her odious to the People, conspired with several other Lords, and rais'd a Rebellion against her; and having got her into their Power, and drove Earl *Bothwell* into *Denmark*, that pious Patriarch *Knox*, with his Brethren the Fanatick Preachers, propos'd the deposing and murdering of their Queen: And *Buchanan*, a Creature of the Earl of *Murray*'s, in his Writings, makes no Scruple of charging the Queen with every thing that's infamous; and maintain'd, that the People had Power to make and depose their Princes at their Pleasure. At length they so terrify'd the poor Queen, by threatening to murder her, that they extorted from her a Resignation of the Crown to her Son, then but thirteen Months old; and constituted *Murray* Regent during his Minority, and *Knox* preach'd the Coronation Sermon. *Murray*, to shew his Zeal against the late King's Murderer's, and render himself acceptable to the People, executed *John Hepburn*, and some other of *Bothwell*'s Servants, who were accus'd of having a Hand in the Murder: But these Men unluckily declar'd at their Deaths, that *Murray* himself was the principal

cial Contriver of it, and acquitted the Queen of any Knowledge of the Fact; as did also *Bothwell*, *Morton*, and others afterwards: And even *Buchanan*, before he died, retracted the Scandal he had thrown upon the Queen, and heartily repented of it.

To proceed: The Queen of *Scots* made her Escape out of Prison, and rais'd some Forces; but being compos'd of People half armed and undisciplin'd, they were defeated by *Murray's* Troops, and she was forced to fly into *England*, and intreat the Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, who had now an Opportunity of making herself Umpire of the Differences between the Queen of *Scots* and her Subjects, and of securing her Person, so as to have no further Apprehensions of her Rival. Accordingly, Queen *Elizabeth* caus'd her to be convey'd to *Carlisle* under a Guard, alledging she could not in Honour admit her to her Presence, till she had cleared herself of those scandalous Reports charged on her by *Murray* and the *Scots* Nobility.

And Queen *Elizabeth*, to assert her Superiority over the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and that she might have the more Colour to confine the *Scots* Queen, commanded *Murray* and his Adherents to appear before her Commissioners at *York*, to give their Reasons for deposing their Queen, knowing they would not fail to furnish her with a Handle to use her Rival as she saw fit. And according to the Queen of *England's* Expectations, the *Scots* left no means unattempted to blacken the Character of their own Prince, and justify their Rebellion against her; and every little trifling Scandal, that her Enemies had suggested, was remembred and accepted for Truth, how weakly soever supported; it being the Interest of the *English*, that were her Judges, as well as her rebel Subjects, who were her Accusers, that they

should be believ'd. And to render the Queen of Scots still more obnoxious to Queen Elizabeth, Murray, when he was at York, cunningly propos'd the Match between their Queen and the Duke of Norfolk, which in the end prov'd fatal to them both, as will appear hereafter. But to proceed: Queen Elizabeth and the Scots having now gain'd their Ends, in bringing these Matters to be solemnly argued and debated in the Face of the World, the Commissioners were recalled from York without determining any thing.

The Duke of Norfolk was unhappily induc'd by the Scots, and some false Friends in the English Court, to hearken to the Scotch Match, and then betray'd to Queen Elizabeth by those very Men who had put him upon it, and was committed to the Tower; but the Queen, upon his Promise not to proceed in that Matter, some time after discharg'd him.

Supr. 288.

Notwithstanding the base Usage Queen Elizabeth had receiv'd from the French Protestants at Havre de Grace, she was, in the Year 1568, again prevail'd with to assist them with Money and warlike Stores; and she receiv'd such as fled from thence, and from Flanders, on account of their Religion; and dispos'd of them about Canterbury, Colchester, and Norwich, where they very much improv'd our Manufactures.

In the Year 1569, the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland rais'd an Insurrection in the North of England, on account of the Alteration of Religion; but the Rebels dispers'd without coming to a Battel, when they found the Government in a Condition to oppose them, and the two Earls fled into Scotland. Sixty-six of their Adherents were hang'd at Durham, besides many more at York and in other Places,

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The same Year *Leonard Dacres*, Son to the Lord *Dacres*, rais'd a Rebellion; and having assembled about three thousand Men, fought the Queen's Forces under the Lord *Hunsdon*; but was defeated, and fled into *Flanders*.

In the Year 1570, Pope *Pius* caus'd a Bull to be fix'd on the Gates of the Bishop of *London's* Palace, whereby he did not only absolve the Queen's Subjects from their Allegiance, but commanded them to rise up in Arms, and dethrone her, on pain of Damnation; declaring, that he had a Power over all Nations and Kingdoms, to destroy, consume, plant, and build, according to his Pleasure. *Felton*, who had set up the Bull on the Bishop's Palace, confessed the Fact, and was hang'd, and gloried in it at his Death; for which 'tis said he was look'd upon as a Martyr by the Papists. This Bull occasioned some other trifling Insurrections; but they were suppress'd before they came to a Head. The Queen of *Scots* being thought to encourage these Discontents, was more strictly guarded, and depriv'd of all her Servants but ten. And the next Year, 1572, the Parliament met, and pass'd several Acts in order to prevent any Disturbances from the Papists for the future: They made it High Treason to deny the Queen's Title, or that an Act of Parliament could not limit the Succession of the Crown; and that those who should reconcile any Subject of the Queens to the Church of *Rome*, or should be reconcil'd, should incur the Guilt of High Treason.

The Duke of *Norfolk* being again drawn in to proceed in the Match with the Queen of *Scots*, and being charg'd with a Conspiracy to release her, and to introduce a foreign Power to depose Queen *Elizabeth*, was again clapt up in the *Tower*, and try'd by his Peers in the Year 1572; and on the *second* of

of *June*, four Months after his Tryal, was executed on *Tower-hill*.

The Earl of *Northumberland* also, being delivered up by the *Scots* for a Sum of Money, was the same Year beheaded at *York*.

In the Year 1573, the Puritans began to grow troublesome; whereupon the Queen caused the Acts of Uniformity to be strictly put in Execution: Nor was she less watchful against this Sect than against the Papists, knowing their Principles to be equally pernicious and destructive of Government; and by her steady and prudent Management, she prevented their rising to any great Head in her Reign.

Don *John*, the Governour of the *Netherlands*, proposing to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and entring into a Conspiracy with the Pope, and other Princes, to set up her Title to the Crown of *England*, and depose Queen *Elizabeth*, the Queen made no Scruple of assisting the *Dutch* openly against *Spain*; and accordingly in the Year 1577 she entred into an Alliance with the States, whereby she engaged to furnish them with a thousand Horse, and five thousand Foot. And the Queen being daily threatned with an Invasion by foreign Princes, and in Danger of being assassinated by *Popish* Zealots at home, who were made to believe it meritorious to destroy her, the Nation voluntarily entred into an Association, for the Preservation of the Queen's Person, in the Year 1584.

The Queen of *Scots*, whose Deliverance seem'd to be one principal End of all these Conspiracies, was taken out of the Custody of the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who had been her Keeper for fifteen Years, and committed to the Care of Sir *Amias Paulet* and Sir *Drue Drury*, in order to be more strictly guarded. The Intention of the *Popish* Princes

Princes was, it seems, to have married the Queen of *Scots* to some Prince or Nobleman of their own Communion, and then set up her Title to the Crown of *England*, and depose Queen *Elizabeth*. And such Influence had the *Jesuits* over their Votaries, that even Gentlemen of Quality were induc'd to become Assassins to promote the Cause. Mr. *Parry*, a Doctor of the Civil Law, and a Member of the House of Commons, being charg'd with such a Design, acknowledg'd he had often come into the Queen's Presence with an Intention to have kill'd her, being satisfied of the Justice of the Action, by reading some Popish Books. The Doctor was convicted and executed; and the Parliament being assembled, they ratified the Association, which had been entred into the Year before for the Preservation of the Queen's Person; and by the same Act provided, that whoever should be found to conspire against Queen *Elizabeth*, should be incapable of enjoying the Crown of *England*, and prosecuted capitally; and appointed twenty four of the Nobility and Council, before whom any Person might be arraigned and tried, who should be guilty of such Conspiracy. This was principally aim'd at the Queen of *Scots*, to deter her from tampering any more with foreign Princes to depose Queen *Elizabeth*.

The distressed States of *Holland* imploring the Queen's Protection again this Year, (1585,) the Earl of *Leicester* was sent over with an Army to their Assistance, and *Flushing*, *Ramekins* and the *Brill* were delivered to the Queen as cautionary Towns, for reimbursing the Expence she should be at in their Protection. *Leicester* was made Captain General of the confederate Troops, and had a more unlimited Power given him by the *Dutch*, than ever they trusted the Prince of *Orange* with. They chose

chose to throw themselves absolutely upon the *English*, rather than come any more under the *Spanish* Yoke.

In the following Year (1586) was discovered another Plot to assassinate the Queen, which went by the Name of *Babington's Conspiracy*, wherein were concerned ten or a dozen young Gentlemen of the best Families; and the Queen of *Scots* being found to have fomented and encouraged it, after *Babington* and his Associates were convicted and executed, a Commission issued to try the Queen of *Scots*, in pursuance of the late Act of Parliament. She insisted on her Independence as a Sovereign Prince, and would not acknowledge the Court could have any Jurisdiction over her: But in order to clear herself of so foul an Aspersion, as the assassinating the Queen of *England*, and to manifest her Innocence, she said she would submit to answer.

As to the Letters that were produced against her, she insisted that they were counterfeit; and for the Evidence that was given against her by her Secretaries *Nave*, *Curle*, and others that had been convicted of the Plot, this she said had been extorted from them by Fear of Death. However, I perceive, she did not make any Difficulty to acknowledge that she had applied herself to the King of *Spain*, and the *Guises*, to procure her Deliverance by Force of Arms, if other Means did not take Effect; and she said she thought it but natural for every one to desire and endeavour their own Liberty: But as to any Designs directly against the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, this she utterly denied. And 'tis very possible she might not be concerned in that Part of the Conspiracy; but she was most certainly engaged in such Measures, as, if they had succeeded, must have ended in the Destruction of Queen *Elizabeth*: And why, when the Queen of *Scots* had

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armed foreign Princes against the Queen of *England*, and invited her own Subjects to depose her, she might not as well be deemed an Enemy, as if she had invaded the Kingdom, I am at a Loss to discover. And in that Case none could have called it Injustice to have depriv'd her of her Life: To take off an Enemy in her own just Defence, reflects no Dishonour upon the Queen, or her Ministry. However, Queen *Elizabeth* shew'd all the Reluctance imaginable to put the Sentence of her Commissioners in Execution against the Queen of *Scots*, and would gladly have found out a Mean to prevent it; but while she was deliberating how to dispose of her, the *French* Ambassador hired Assassins to murder Queen *Elizabeth*. This, with the Reflection on the Murder of the Prince of *Orange*, who had been dispatch'd by a Popish Cut-throat in her Reign, and the repeated Addresses of her People in Parliament to consent to the Execution, and prevent hers and her Subjects Ruin, prevail'd on the Queen to sign the dead Warrant.

Whether she intended it should have been executed suddenly or not, does not seem very material, the Thing appearing so highly just as well as necessary. Possibly few private Men would make a Scruple of taking away a Man's Life who lay in wait for theirs, especially if there was no other way of preserving their own: How much more, when the Fate of a whole Nation was concerned, and they saw all the Popish Princes arming against them, and daily exciting Assassins to destroy that Life on whom their Security depended? Had their Designs succeeded against Queen *Elizabeth*, and the Queen of *Scots* had step'd into the Throne, how would the Nation and all the Protestant Powers have lamented the Supineness of our Government, who had received such repeated Warning of their approaching Ruin,

Ruin, and yet neglected the only Means for its Preservation? Another bloody Persecution would probably have been the Effect of their Easiness, and Superstition and Ignorance once again overspread the Face of *Europe*; for the Preservation whereof we are not a little indebted to the Wisdom and Steadiness of those who were then in the Administration.

But, notwithstanding the Death of the Queen of *Scots*, the *Spaniard* continued his Preparations to invade *England*, and the Pope consecrated the Expedition, and invited all Catholick Princes to take upon them the Crusado, and assist in the Enterprize, as more meritorious than a War with Infidels. Queen *Elizabeth* was already deposed, as far as a Decree of the Papal Chair could do it: Her Subjects were absolved from their Allegiance, and her Kingdom given to the Prince that could make a Conquest of it. And in the Year 1588, the greatest Fleet that ever appear'd upon the Ocean, was mann'd out by *Philip* King of *Spain*, to make a Descent upon *England*; and had they not been dispers'd and destroy'd by Storms, and disappointed of the Land Forces with which the Prince of *Parma* was to have join'd them from *Flanders*, I don't see how the *English* could have resisted them, their Men of War being of a Size so much superior to the *English*. 'Tis true, they proved so very heavy and unweildy, that they could but little annoy their Enemies, who attack'd them, and retir'd as they saw fit. But the *English* could never have prevented a Descent, if the Prince of *Parma* had been ready with his Land Forces to have join'd the *Spanish* Fleet from *Flanders*. All that the *English* Fleet could do, was to pelt them at a Distance, and cut their Masts and Rigging: There was no such thing as sinking them, or grappling with Ships that were so tall, and strongly built

built and mann'd, by Ships that were little bigger than our Frigates are now.

One Stratagem indeed the *English* try'd with great Success, and that was the sending Fireships amongst them, while they lay at an Anchor before *Calais*, waiting for the Land Forces under the Prince of *Parma*. This so terrified the *Spanish* Fleet, it seems, that they cut their Cables, and put to Sea, and never durst come to Anchor on the Coast of *Flanders* again; but stood to the *North*; and having sail'd round *Scotland* and *Ireland*, returned to *Spain*, having receiv'd great Damage by Storms, tho' very little from their Enemies, who could not grapple with them, and their Ordnance were too small to sink them, that if ever any Deliverance is to be ascrib'd to Providence, this certainly might.

Indeed, the Queen had rais'd three great Armies against this Invasion; but whether they would have been a Match for those Veteran Troops the Prince of *Parma* was to bring from *Flanders*, and those taken on Board in *Spain*, is a very great Question. And I am apt to think, that the true Reason the Prince of *Parma* could not spare the Troops he had promised, was the great Diversion the *English* and *Dutch* gave him in *Flanders*; for I find afterwards the *Dutch* urging the great Efforts they had made this Year against the *Spaniards*, when the Queen demanded the Money she had disburs'd in their Defence. And would the *Dutch* be contented with their Share of Trade, it must certainly ever be the Interest of the two Nations to entertain a friendly Correspondence; for while they do so, 'twill be difficult for the greatest Princes in *Europe* to make any Impression on either. But we ought to follow the Precedent Queen *Elizabeth* set us, that is, to assist them with Forces sufficient to defend their own Territories, and not with vast Armies to extend

tend their Dominions, while we ruin and impoverish our own.

It can never be our Interest to make the *Dutch* a more powerful People than our selves, who are the greatest Rivals we have in Trade.

To return : The *Spaniards* having ruin'd the greatest Fleet that ever put to Sea, were now in no Condition to act offensively ; and the *English* the next Year returned their Visit, and infested the Coasts of *Spain* : They attempted to rescue *Portugal* out of the Hands of the *Spaniards*, and set Don *Antonio* upon the Throne. But in this they did not meet with the Success they expected, the *Portuguese* not revolting, as they had been made to believe they would, upon Don *Antonio's* appearing amongst them.

About this time (1589) *France* was miserably distracted with Factions and Civil Wars ; and the Duke of *Guise* insulting the *French* King, and driving him from *Paris*, the King procured the Duke, and his Brother the Cardinal, to be murdered, which was soon returned upon him in kind ; for the League or Popish Party caus'd the King himself to be assassinated by *James Clement* a Monk ; whereupon *Henry* King of *Navarre* succeeded to that Crown : But meeting with the same Opposition his Predecessor had, he was forced to beg the Assistance of Queen *Elizabeth*, who supply'd him with Men and Money. And notwithstanding the Assistance she gave the *Dutch* and the *French*, and the Expence she was at in opposing the *Spaniard*, still she kept the Government clear of Debts ; how urgent soever her Occasions were, she never mortgag'd the Kingdom in the Quarrel. And surely no Prince, that ever sat upon the *English* Throne, had more powerful Enemies to contend with, or fewer Allies to support her.

During the War with the *Spaniards*, the Queen employ'd her Shipping in annoying their Trade both in *Europe* and the *West-Indies*; and took almost Prizes enough to bear the Charges of the War: But in the Year 1596 she fitted out a great Fleet, commanded by the Lord *Charles Howard*, with Land Forces on Board, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*. They set sail from *Plymouth* the beginning of *June*, and on the 20th cast Anchor before *Cadiz*. The Earl of *Essex* took the Town by Storm, and the Castle surrendred the next Day, and gave Hostages for the Payment of four hundred and twenty thousand Ducats for their Ransom.

The Fleet having destroyed abundance of Shipping in the Harbour, and the Town being plundered and demolished, they set sail with their Hostages for *England*. The whole Damage the *Spaniard* sustained in the Expedition is computed at twenty Millions of Ducats. The Plunder of the Town, which was very great, was given to the Soldiers and Sailors; and every private Man brought home something as a Reward and Testimony of his Valour.

The Earl of *Essex* was now the great Favourite at Court; but being a Gentleman of a free open Conversation, and pretty much a Stranger to the Courtier's Arts, his Enemies soon brought about his Ruin. And indeed the Queen had so indulg'd him, that he knew not how to put any Bounds to his Ambition, but expected she should submit to his Judgment in the Disposal of every Place or Office. And the Queen once proposing to send a Governor to *Ireland*, whom he did not approve of, he contemptuously turn'd his Back upon her Majesty, and sneer'd in her Face, which so provok'd the Queen, that she hit him a Box of the Ear. Whereupon in a great Rage he left the Court:

And although he was afterwards seemingly reconciled to her Majesty, and made General of her Forces in *Ireland*, it appeared he never forgot the Blow she had given him; for instead of promoting the Service there, he entered into a Conspiracy to compel her to discard all his Enemies, and put the Administration into such Hands as he thought fit to direct. Whether he had any Design upon the Queen's Life, may be made a Question; but he was certainly guilty of conspiring to govern her Counsels, and actually fortify'd his House, and attempted to raise the City for these Ends; so that the Queen was compell'd to proceed capitally against him, tho' she would gladly have sav'd his Life on account of his former Services in *Spain*. As to the foolish Stories of a Passion the Queen entertain'd for him, beyond what Princes generally do towards their Favourites, I see no manner of Grounds to give any Credit to them.

In the Year 1601, several Patents having been obtain'd for Monopolies, it was represented in Parliament, how illegal as well as injurious they were to the Subject. Whereupon the Queen, without staying for an Address from the Houses, immediately ordered a Proclamation for recalling them; and the Commons deputing about eight of their Number to return her their Thanks, she declared she was ignorant of the ill Consequences of them; and that she had rather her Heart or Hand should perish, than that either one or the other should allow such Privileges to Monopolists, as should be prejudicial to her People. She assured them she never desired an arbitrary Rule, or to found her own Grandeur on the Ruin of her Subjects; but on the contrary would resign both her Kingdom and her Life to serve them.

The *Spaniards*, her constant Enemies, still endeavoured to foment a Rebellion in *Ireland*, and this Year

Queen ELIZABETH.

305

Year (1601) sent over a Body of Troops to that Kingdom to join the Rebels; but the Queen's Forces had the good Fortune to defeat them, and reduce that Kingdom to an entire Obedience; so that before her Death her Dominions enjoy'd an universal Tranquility. And as she was of Opinion, that the most effectual way to continue it, was the uniting the whole Island under one Head, in her last Illness she advised her Ministers to promote the Succession of King *James VI. of Scotland*; though the *Sussex* Family were appointed by her Father King *Henry's* Will to succeed to the Crown, and that Will had the Authority of an Act of Parliament to support it.

From this Review of the Queen's Reign, Mr. *Echard's* Character of her seems so very just and full, that it seems entirely unnecessary to attempt another; and therefore I proceed to the following Reign.



JAMES I.



JAMES I. of *England*, and *VI. of Scotland*, was the Son of *Henry Stuart*, Lord *Darnley*, by *Mary Queen of Scots*, who was the only Child of *James V. King of Scots*, who was the eldest Son of *James IV. King of Scots*, and *Margaret* his Wife, eldest Daughter of *Henry VII. King of England*. So that it appears that King *James I.* was great Grandson of the Princess *Margaret*, the eldest Daughter of *Henry VII.* and that upon Failure of Issue of *Henry VIII.* who

160 $\frac{1}{2}$.

H s Title.

was the only surviving Son of *Henry VII.* King *James I.* had an unquestionable Title by Descent to the Crown of *England*, which was strengthened also by the Appointment of Queen *Elizabeth*. He was crown'd the 25th of *July 1603.*

Objections
to it.

To King *James's* Title it has been objected, that the Succession of the Crown was limited by the 35th of *Henry VIII.* (upon Failure of Issue of the Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth*) to such Person as King *Henry* should appoint by his last Will: And that *Henry VIII.* afterwards made his Will, and appointed, that upon Failure of Issue of his Daughters *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, the Crown should remain and come to the Heirs of the Body of the Lady *Frances*, eldest Daughter to his Sister *Mary* the *French* Queen, lawfully begotten; and for Default of Issue of the Body of the said *Frances*, to the Heirs of the Body of the Lady *Eleanor*, second Daughter to the said *French* Queen, Remainder to his own right Heirs.

This *Mary* the *French* Queen was the younger Sister of *Henry VIII.* She first married *Lewis XII.* the *French* King, who died in a little time, and left no Issue by her; whereupon King *Henry* married her to his great Favourite *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*, by whom she had Issue the Lady *Frances*, and the Lady *Eleanor*; to the Issue of whose Bodies, successively, King *Henry VIII.* limited the Succession of the Crown, as above.

From the eldest of these Sisters, viz. the Lady *Frances*, descended the *Ailesbury* Family; and from the youngest, namely, the Lady *Eleanor*, descended the *Derby* Family. How the Nation came to prefer the *Scots* Line before either of them, contrary to the Act of Settlement, I have hinted already; and since they have neither of them made any Claim to the Crown, our Allegiance is certainly due

due to the *Stuarts*, who have the Right of Blood on their Side, as well as an Act for recognizing their Title, 1 *Jac. I. Cap. 1.* wherein the two Houses say: That being bounden thereunto both by the Laws of God and Men, they do recognize and acknowledge, that immediately upon the Dissolution and Decease of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Crown of *England* did by inherent Birth-right, and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to King *James*, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully next and sole Heir of the Blood Royal. And that by lawful Right of Descent, his Majesty is of the Realms and Kingdoms of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, and thereby more able to protect and govern his Subjects, than any of his Progenitors. And they do most humbly and faithfully submit and oblige themselves, *their Heirs and Posterities*, to his Majesty and *his royal Progeny and Posterity for ever*.

King *James I.* married *Anne* the Daughter of *Frederick II.* King of *Denmark*, by whom he had Issue, 1. *Henry* his eldest Son, who died at eighteen Years of Age unmarried; 2. *Robert*, who died in his Infancy; 3. *Charles*, who succeeded his Father by the Name of *Charles I.* He had Issue also by Queen *Anne* three Daughters, viz. 1. *Elizabeth*, (married to *Frederick V.* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Elector, Cup-bearer, and High Steward of the Empire, sometimes stiled King of *Bohemia*) from whom his present Majesty King *George* is descended; 2. *Margaret*, who died in her Infancy; 3. *Mary*, who lived two Years, five Months, and eight Days; 4. *Sophia*, who died three Days after she was born.

King *James I.* died the 27th of *March*, in the 59th Year of his Age, and the 23d of his Reign, *A. D. 1625.*

The Marriage and Issue of King *J. I.*

His Age and Death.

X



His Character.

In the Character our Author gives of this Prince, he says: As to his Person and Presence, he made but an ordinary Figure; his Countenance was homely, his Features harsh, though not altogether uncomely; his Stature was of the middle Size, his Body not ill compacted, but fat and unwieldy in his latter Days, usually wearing his Cloaths plain, large, and different from the common Mode. But as to his Mind, he has receiv'd the highest Applauses and Commendations, particularly, that he was the *Solomon* of the Age for Knowledge, Learning, and Wisdom; one who knew how to catch the Inclinations of the People at the first Rebound, not suffering them to mount higher than he could reach them, nor grow so strong, but he could either alter or divert them. That he had an admirable Pregnancy of Wit, which being improv'd by continual Study, he acquired such a Promptness and Elegancy in expressing his Mind, that his extemporary Speeches were little inferiour to his premeditated Writings: That he was a mild, peaceful, and munificent Monarch, suitable to the *English* Genius and Nation. All which Particulars were really true, but still with a remarkable Mixture of Alloy; and without that, *Wilson* acknowledges, that his high towering and mastering Reason had been of a rare and sublimed Excellency. Upon which account his *Knowledge* has been by some thought fitter for the Head of a Society, than the Governor of a Kingdom: his *Learning* to border more upon Pedantry, than rise to a compleat Understanding; his *Wisdom* to have more of Subtilty, or a Sagacity in discovering Mischiefs, than an Ability of surmounting them; and his *Wit* too often to descend to inferior sorts of Jest and Quibbles, which was the common Way of Wit in that Age. His Munificence

cence was many times a direct Profusenefs, and a waſting of the Revenues of the Crown; and his *peaceful Temper*, which made him take *Beati Paſifici* for his Motto, had too much of a timorous Diſpoſition, not to ſay Cowardiſe; which cauſ'd him not only to be often condemn'd by foreign Princes, but alſo at home to be govern'd, and ſometimes inſulted by his Favourites, which was one of the greateſt of his Weakneſſes. And this led him to another Quality, or rather an Acquiſition, which ſome thought as wicked as the other was weak, which he called by the Name of *King-craft*, others an *exquiſite Skill in Diſſimulation*, in which he ſo much delighted, that it ſeems to be the greateſt of all his Blemiſhes. He had excellent Notions in Conception, but could bring but few into Action, tho' they tended to his own Preſervation. And this was one of his Maxims, of which he made no timely Uſe: *A Prince, who would avoid Conſpiracies, ought to be rather jealous of ſuch whom his Favours have advanced, than of thoſe whom his Frowns have diſcontented; for the latter want Means, while the former have them at Pleaſure to execute their Deſigns.* But to come to his moral Virtues: In ſpight of Calumny, he was eminent for his Chaſtity, which was remarkable in a Court ſo looſe and luxurious as his own. He was very temperate in his Exerciſes and Diet, and not intemperate in his Drinking; yet he drank very often of the ſtrongeſt ſweet Wines, but always in very ſmall Quantities, and rather out of a Cuſtom than any Delight, as *Weldon* himſelf acknowledges. He was by Education patient, pious, and religious; yet ſometimes his Choler and Paſſion would prevail over all, and throw him into the profaneſt Oaths and Curſes, for which he would afterwards ſhew himſelf heartily penitent: And indeed he was not only ready to aſk Forgiveneſs of

God, but also of Men; and sometimes in such a peculiar manner, that they could scarcely say whether it was a pious Condescension, or an abject Disposition. As to his Religion, in which he display'd the Height of his Parts and Learning, he was really a *Calvinist* in most Points, excepting that of Episcopacy, as appears from some of his Books, and his Zeal for the Synod of *Dort*; yet he gave very unhappy Suspicions to the Nation, by making such Advances to the Pope and Papists, upon the account of the *Spanish* and *French* Treaties. Notwithstanding his open Indulgences, and perhaps secret Inclinations to the *Roman* Catholicks, yet in many publick Speeches he declared against them; and once in a very remarkable manner, in the Presence of many Lords, as we find it in *Croke's* Report: For having been charged with a Design of granting a Toleration to Papists, he made a solemn Protestation, *That he would spend the last Drop of Blood in his Body before he would do it; and pray'd, that before any of his Issue should maintain any other Religion than his own, that God would take them out of the World.* How far this Imprecation reached, or affected himself, or any of his Family afterwards, we leave to the Determination of an omniscient Being.

To take some notice of this Reign in general: It is highly remarkable, that though the Nation was warlike, and ready to kindle at any Flame, yet this King kept it his whole Reign all in Peace, without any War from Abroad, or Rebellion at Home. It is true, there were some Heats between him and his Parliaments about the *Prerogative*; and it happened then, as it does in most Feuds, Things were carried to great Extremities; yet impartial Writers think, that, considering his Majesty's Circumstances, he was not well used; and that if the

House

House had been freed from half a dozen popular and discontented Members, the Disturbances would soon have ended. It is also remarkable, that during this whole Reign the King never took away the Life of one Nobleman in *England*, but restored many; yet his artificial taking off Sir *Walter Raleigh*, by virtue of a former Condemnation, after an equitable Restoration, and his sparing the Earl and Countess of *Somerset*, after such Imprecations upon himself and Progeny, are both real Blemishes in this King's Conduct. He came to the Crown with all the Advantages of Power, Love, and Reputation; and the former part of the Reign was more active and laudable; but the latter, with the increasing Weakness of the publick Ministry, became more passive, and declined in Vigour and Greatness to the last Moment of his Life. If we consider the whole Reign with the former, it will bear no Comparison: And tho' there was a great Increase of Affluence and Trade, the Reputation of *England* began sensibly to sink; so that the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, when joined under one Monarch, made a less Figure than one of them had in former Ages. The martial Heat and Exercise of the Nation began gradually to decline, by the Example of a pacifick King. And Sir *Richard Baker* observes, that two things in this Reign grew to lose their Lustre; one, the Exercise of Tilting, which in the last Reign was so much us'd, that no Year passed without special Solemnities in that kind; the other, the Band of Gentlemen-Pensioners, and Yeomen of the Guard, which in the Queen's Time consisted of the most select Persons of the Realm for Stature and other Qualifications, and was so noble an Ornament in her Court, that no Prince in Christendom could shew the like. But this King so little valued these Particulars, that both in his Time came utterly to be

be neglected : No Solemnity of Arms, but by Accident ; and no Regard had to what Persons were admitted into that Service. In short, the main Conduct of the Reign seems inconsistent with itself, and differing from the common Methods of Mankind : Therefore whatever may be said in Commendation of the Blessings of Peace and Plenty, and whatever Rhetorick has been used to extol the uninterrupted Pleasures of this Reign, it cannot be denied, but that this admired Calm was only the Forerunner of a most dismal Storm ; and that this peaceful Monarch was not only really unfortunate in himself and Daughter, but also left to his Son an unnecessary War, an exhausted Treasury, and a Crown of Troubles and Thorns.

A Review of
the Reign of
K. James I.

Queen *Elizabeth* dying in the Night between the 24th and 25th of *March*, 1603, *James VI.* King of *Scotland*, was proclaimed the next Day at *London*, by the Name of *James I.* King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland* : And the Lords of the Council having acquainted the King with the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, and his being proclaimed in *England*, he set out from *Edinburgh* the 5th of *April*, and continuing his Journey thro' the *North* of *England*, he arrived at *Theobalds* in *Hertfordshire* the 3d of *May* 1603, where he was met and congratulated on his Accession, by the Privy-Council. On the 7th of *May* he entered *London*, and took up his Residence at the *Charter-house*, for three or four Days. At his first coming into *England* he made about two hundred Knights, and created several Noblemen, and introduced many of the *Scots* Nobility into the Privy-Council ; and being settled in his Palace at *White-hall*, he sent for the Queen, Prince *Henry* his eldest Son, and the Princess *Elizabeth*, who arrived the latter end of *June* ; but Prince *Charles* was left in *Scotland* some time.

The

The King had not been many Weeks in *England*, before the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and some others, were committed for High Treason, in conspiring to depose him, and alter the Religion established, &c.

As to Sir *Walter*, tho' he was convicted by Law with the rest, yet being a Protestant, and so hearty an Enemy to the *Spaniards*, the World have generally acquitted him of the Plot. He was disgusted, 'tis true, at his being turn'd out of his Place of Captain of the Guards, and did associate with some Malecontents, who would gladly have seen the Throne filled with another Prince; which gave his Enemies a Handle to ruin him; but the Evidence of the Treason was certainly the weakest, and the most illegal that ever Man was convicted upon. Nor is it to be presumed the Court ever thought him guilty of any form'd Design to depose the King, seeing they deferred his Execution so many Years, and made him Admiral, with a Power of Life and Death over the King's Forces, in an Expedition to *America*. But 'tis plain to a Demonstration, that he was at last destroyed by *Spanish* Councils, though the principal part of the Charge against him was his corresponding with *Spain* against the Government.

The Puritans, in the beginning of this Reign, petitioned the King for a farther Reformation of the Church, and for Alterations in its Liturgy and Ceremonies: Whereupon the King appointed a Conference at *Hampton-Court* between the Divines of both Persuasions; and those, who were for maintaining the present Establishment, gave such rational and solid Answers to all the Scruples of their weak Brethren, as did not only satisfy the King, but those who were most zealous against it; at least they were entirely silenced, and had nothing material left to object. And the King issuing a Proclamation to enforce

enforce the Act of Uniformity, out of ten thousand beneficed Clergymen, there were but forty nine in the whole Kingdom that refused to conform, and were deprived.

The King also ordered a new Translation of the Bible, and endeavoured to bring *Scotland*, as well as *Ireland* and *Wales*, to a Uniformity of Worship, knowing that nothing tends more to the creating Tumults and Factions in the State, than the Schisms and Divisions in the Church.

On the 19th of *January*, 1604, the first Parliament of this Reign met, and passed the Act for recognizing the King's Title, as above. They also passed an Act for appointing Commissioners to treat of a Union between the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*; but it proved ineffectual, tho' as a Step towards it, the King caused himself to be proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*. Another Act passed to prevent the Alienation of Bishops Lands, *even to the Crown*; which had swallowed up great part of them in the Reigns of King *Edward VI.* and Queen *Elizabeth*. And the Convocation composed several Canons, which are in force at this Day, and are the last that are deemed binding.

The Parliament being up, the King entred into a Treaty with *Spain*, which ended in a Peace very advantageous to the *Spaniard*, and was therefore said to be obtained by *Spanish Gold*, and that the Ministry were actually purchased.

And now the Nation was in perfect Peace with all Christian Princes, but the Pope; whose Agents and Emissaries, the Popish Priests and Jesuits, being banished by Proclamation, soon discovered sufficient Marks of their Resentment in that infamous Conspiracy, which goes under the Name of the Powder-Plot; wherein they contrived, and very near effected the Destruction of the King, and the Royal Family,

Family, with the three Estates in Parliament, and the great Officers of the Kingdom, at one Blow, on the 5th of *November*, 1605. But this is a Piece of History so universally known, that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it: Only I shall observe, that it was a Fact so very barbarous, that the Papists seem ashamed of it, and throw it upon those few Gentlemen that were Actors in it. But these Gentlemen were most of them Men of good Families, zealous Papists, and acknowledged they undertook it for the Advancement of their Religion; and *Garnet*, the Superior of the Jesuits in *England*, was convicted of being privy to it, and encouraging it. Besides, their Votaries having assassinated the Prince of *Orange*, and the King of *France*, in that very Age, for which some of the Assassins were had in the greatest Reverence at *Rome*, it seems to me very rational to suppose, that these Assassins too were taught by their Superiors to believe, that their horrid Enterprize was not only innocent, but meritorious; especially when it was proved at the Trial, that Father *Garnet* prayed for the Success of the Conspirators.

These Traitors were no sooner executed for this Plot, but a Report was spread that the King was stabb'd with a poison'd Knife at *Oking*, twenty Miles from *London*; which struck the Town with an inexpressible Consternation; for after the last hellish Contrivance no Man scrupled to believe any Piece of Villany that was reported of a Papist: But in a few Hours the People were agreeably undeceived, and the King appeared at Court, and issued a Proclamation, declaring there was no Foundation for the Alarm.

These Apprehensions of the King's Danger rendered him so very dear to the Parliament and Convocation, that they refused no Supplies the Ministry demanded.

demand'd. They were even ready to extend the Prerogative beyond the King's Wishes: But his Ministers, it seems, did not improve the Hint, as some of their Successors have done upon the like Occasions. However, it is observable, that tho' the Parliament were so extremely obsequious at present, and, in the Act for annually celebrating the fifth of *November*, ascribed the Discovery of the Popish Plot to a *Divine Spirit* in the King, succeeding Parliaments did not look upon him as divinely inspired, or pay any great Deference to his Judgment or Authority; but on the contrary perpetually teiz'd him with Complaints and Representations of their Grievances, which made Parliaments more disus'd than they would have been in this Reign. However, these unpleasant Scenes did not yet present themselves; Masques, Dancing and Revelling, were yet the Diversions of the Court. The King often obliged the City with his Presence, and was entertained and presented by the several Companies, and was himself made free of the *Cloth-Workers* Company, as the Prince was of the *Merchant-Tailors*. The whole Nation rejoiced in Peace and Plenty, and grew wanton, and even surfeited with Ease and Pleasure.

In the Year 1609, the Kings of *England* and *France* mediated a Peace between *Spain* and the *United Provinces*; and the *Dutch* were acknowledged by the *Spaniard* to be a free and independent State. King *James* was thought to shew too great a Partiality to *Spain* in this Treaty, and not to act the Part of a Mediator indifferently: But I do not find any other Grounds for this Charge, than his Censure of the *Dutch* for throwing off their Subjection to their Prince, as being a bad Example; which probably might be the *French* King's Opinion too, though he nevertheless labour'd to procure a Peace for them,
and

and to have them acknowledged an Independent State now, after they had been so long freed from the *Spanish* Yoke.

As the Jesuits in the Year 1605 had attempted the Destruction of the King of *England*, so in the Year 1610 they conspired against *Henry* the Great of *France*, whom they looked upon as a secret Enemy to their Religion, notwithstanding he made Profession of it. This Prince was stabb'd in the open Streets of *Paris* by the infamous *Ravilliac*, whose Memory, for that daring Fact, remains highly honoured at *Rome* to this Day.

King *James*, being alarmed at the *French* King's Fate, renewed his Proclamation for banishing the Jesuits, those pious Assassins, out of his Dominions.

The Parliament being assembled the ninth of *February*, 1610, instead of giving the Supplies demanded, complained that the whole Wealth of *England* was not sufficient to supply the King's Bounty to his Countrymen; that Gold and Silver was made as plentiful in the Streets of *Edinburgh*, as it was in *Jerusalem* in the Days of *Solomon*. They also complained of the Proceedings of the High-Commission Court, and of some of his Proclamations which were not warranted by the Laws. The King hereupon went to the House, and made a Speech to the Parliament; wherein he assures them, that he had no Intention to set up an Arbitrary Power, or to act contrary to Law, as some had maliciously suggested; but reprehended those who took upon them to meddle with Matters that were above their Knowledge, and did not belong them: And concluded, desiring a Supply for his very urgent Necessities, that his Reputation might not suffer; for he told them the World would think it Want of Love in them, or Merit in him, that had lessened their Hearts,

and

The Parliament uneasy at K. James's Bounty to the Scots,

and tied up their Hands. But they were so disgusted, that he could procure no more than one Subsidy and a Fifteenth from them.

The Rise of
Robert Carr,
afterwards
Earl of *Somer-*
set.

In the Year 1611, *Robert Carr*, a Scots Gentleman, who had formerly been Page to King *James*, came from his Travels in *France* to try his Fortune again in the *English* Court; and being a personable Man, and of a good Address, so insinuated himself into the King's Favour, that nothing was transacted without him. To him all Men paid their Court, and the King advanced him with that Swiftneſs from Place to Place, and from Honour to Honour, as was very surprising. At length being made Viscount *Rochester*, and Knight of the Garter, and courted and fawned upon by the greatest Ministers of State, he extended his Conquests among the Ladies, and debauched the young Countess of *Essex*; and so was the King wrapt up in his Favourite, that he procured the Lady *Essex* to be divorced from her Husband, under Pretence of Impotency in the Earl, and married her to *Rochester*, whom he about the same time made Earl of *Somerſet*.

Sir *Thomas*
Overbury
murdered.

Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a most intimate Friend of *Rochester*, always opposed this Match as base and dishonourable, and did not spare to give the Lady the Character she deserved; which so exasperated both the Lovers, that they procured *Overbury* to be committed to the *Tower*, and there poisoned him in such a Manner, that, after several Weeks racking Pain, he expired a most loathsome Object in the extremest Torments. And so secretly was this Piece of Villany transacted, that it was two Years before it came to light; and then the King discarded this great Favourite, and delivered him and his Countess, with their accursed Agents, into the Hands of Justice. They were all convicted; and yet the King pardoned the Earl and Countess their Lives, and suf-

ferred

ferred only their under Agents to be executed ; and this, 'tis said, contrary to some very solemn Imprecations to the contrary. But whether that be so or no, the pardoning these Wretches, who were Principals in the Murder, and transacted all their Cruelty and Revenge under a Colour of Friendship, is no small Blemish on this Reign : But these Tryals not happening 'till the Year 1616, we must look a little back.

In the Year 1612, *Frederick*, Count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, came into *England* to solemnize his Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*, the King's eldest Daughter ; but while great Preparations were making for the Wedding, Prince *Henry*, the King's eldest Son, died at eighteen Years of Age. Some imagined he was poisoned by *Rochester*, whom he always opposed ; and they were the more confirmed in their Opinion, after the Murder of Sir *Thomas Overbury* was discovered : However, the Physicians and Surgeons, who were employed in opening the Prince, were of a different Opinion.

The Death of the Prince, which happened the sixth of *November* 1612, a little retarded the *Palatine's* Marriage with the Princess. However, on the fourteenth of *February* 1613, the Wedding was solemnized with uncommon Magnificence at *Whitehall* : And on the tenth of *April* the *Palatine* and his Bride embark'd for *Holland*, and from thence continued their Journey to *Heidelberg*, the Capital City of the *Palatinate*, attended by a numerous Train of the *English* Nobility and Gentry. The Expences of this Marriage, and the King's overflowing Bounty to his Favourite *Carr*, and his Countrymen, occasioned the Treasury to run very low ; whereupon the King created a new Honour, namely that of Barons, of every one of whom he received a thousand Pounds on the passing of his Patent.

But neither this, nor any other Project of the Ministry, being sufficient to replenish his exhausted Coffers, a new Parliament was called : And here, instead of granting the King Supplies, they remonstrated against his unbounded Favours and Expences towards the *Scots* ; the Increase of Popish Recusants, occasioned by his admitting such into the Privy-Council ; and his endeavouring to obtain Popish Matches for his Son.

The King was so exasperated with their Presumption, in taking upon them to direct him where he should bestow his Favours, and match his Children, and whom he should admit to his Council, that he suddenly dissolved them. Some of the forwardest Members of the Commons, who in their Speeches had exceeded all Bounds of Decency and Respect to their Prince, he was provoked to send to the *Tower*. And now he was forced to have Recourse to that illegal and unacceptable way of raising Money on the People by way of Benevolence ; for those who did not give according to Expectation, having their Names returned, were ever after obnoxious to the Court ; which rendered most of them Malecontents.

The Rise of
Geor. Villiers
Duke of
Bucks.

In the Year 1615 appeared at Court *George Villiers*, a younger Son to Sir *George Villiers* of *Brooksbury* in *Leicestershire*. He was a well made, beautiful Youth, and had all the Advantages of Cloaths, and a genteel Education, to render him acceptable at Court. King *James*, who was strangely taken with fine Cloaths, and a graceful Outside, no sooner cast his Eyes upon him than he took him into his Favour, and suddenly advanced him to the greatest Posts and Honours he could bestow upon him ; in-
somuch that he was at once Lord High-Admiral, Lord Warden of the *Cinque-Ports*, and Master of the Horse, and disposed of all Places and Offices at his Pleasure. In

In the Year 1616, King *James* delivered up to the States *Flushing*, *Ramekins*, and the *Brill*; the three Cautionary Towns the *English* held for the Payment of the Expences they had been at in the Defence of the *Dutch*. The King, it seems, accepted of a tenth Part of the Money that was due, rather than detain them any longer. One Reason for this Management, we are told, was the great Charge the Crown was at in keeping of them: Another was, that the *Spaniards* would probably apply to him for them; and, being about to match his Son with *Spain*, he should not be able to resist their Importunity, if they were in his Power. But the principal Reason was, no doubt, a present Sum of Money, which he was in great Distress for, the Parliament having refused to grant him any. And here may be observed the Disadvantages accruing to the Nation, when there is a Misunderstanding between the King and his Parliament. These Towns, that were the Keys of the *United Provinces*, and kept the *Dutch* in a manner dependent on the *English*, were delivered up for a Trifle, not a tenth Part of the Money that was due, only because the King was reduced to so necessitous a Condition, that he could neither maintain the Garrisons, or subsist his own Court, without having recourse to this destructive Expedient. It is to be lamented, that neither the Court, or Parliament, ever sufficiently consider the Consequences of a Rupture; and that when one suffers, 'tis odds but the other suffers with it. But little Matters are often blown up into a Flame by designing Men, whose Interest it is to fish in troubled Waters.

The King, in the fifteenth Year of his Reign, *A. D.* 1617, travell'd by easy Journies to his native Country of *Scotland*. The Days were usually spent in Hawking and Hunting as he went and

The Cautionary Towns delivered up to the *Dutch*.

came, and great Parts of the Nights in Dancing and Masquerades; in which Exercises the new Favourite *Villiers*, now Earl of *Bucks*, was no mean Proficient; and the Part he bore in these Entertainments, with which the King was extremely delighted, did not a little endear him to his Majesty. The King, having staid about three Months in *Scotland*, and settled the State of that Kingdom, returned to *England* in *August*.

The Book
of Sports
published.

It seems, in his Progress through *Lancashire*, he observed, that the Puritans, and precise People, were very troublesome to his Subjects, by prosecuting and informing against them for using their lawful Recreations, and honest Exercises, on *Sundays*, after Evening Prayers: (As was 'till that time the Practice of this Nation, and the whole Christian World, who ever solemnized the Day as other Festivals are observed.) Hereupon the King published a Declaration, for allowing lawful Sports and Exercises on *Sundays*, after Evening Service; for which the Declaration gives these Reasons. *1st*. It says, that the prohibiting such Sports and Exercises would probably hinder the Conversion of many Papists, whose Priests took occasion from thence to persuade their People, that no honest Mirth, or Recreation, was accounted lawful, or tolerated by those of the Protestant Religion. *2dly*. That such Prohibitions prevented the common People from using such Exercises as might make them fit for War, and the Service of their Country. This Declaration was at that time not only held to be innocent, but seasonable and popular; though in the next Reign, when Puritanism had gained Ground, the reviving it was look'd upon as a most horrible Piece of Profaneness. That sanctified Race, pretending to more Righteousness than their Neighbours, made this one Pretence for rising in Arms against their Sovereign.

And

And when they were in the Saddle, the Day was kept, we are told, much more like a Day of Fasting and Mortification, than a joyful Commemoration of the Resurrection of their Saviour. And even now, was a Stranger to the Christian Religion to observe the sorrowful, dejected Countenance, the lamentable Voice, and rigid Penances that one of these Saints inflicts upon himself, and all his Dependents, on the Christian Sabbath, he would be tempted to think he was bewailing some dismal Misfortune that had happened to the Christians on that Day : He could never imagine it was set apart for a Thanksgiving.

And one would wonder how our *English* Puritans, of all Men, came to pitch upon this rigid way of keeping the Sabbath as their distinguishing Badge, when their Brethren of *Geneva*, from whom they derive the rest of their Religion, allow themselves in every innocent Diversion on this Day. There *the Old Men go to Bowls, and the Younger to the Exercise of their Arms*, after Evening-Service on *Sundays*, by an Order of the State. And *Calvin*, the Father of their Church, says, That one Reason of instituting the Sabbath was, that Servants might have a Day of Rest and Remission from their Labour. And, as Bishop *Laud* observes, what manner of Rest is that, where able Young Men may use no manner of Recreation ?

There was a Sect among the *Jews* indeed, that would not stir from the very Spot of Ground they happened to be upon at the Moment the Sabbath begun, 'till the whole twenty four Hours were elapsed. And there is at this Day a Sect of Puritans among the *Indians*, who think they appease the Deity, and atone for all their Crimes, by condemning themselves to some uneasy, painful Posture all their Lives. It seems to be the general Foible of melancholy

choly People of all Sects, to imagine God is pleas'd with the Anguish and Distresses of his Creatures, rather than a cheerful, unconstrain'd Obedience. And those who exclude Musick from their religious Assemblies seem to have much the same Notions: They think God can never be pleas'd where his Creatures are so too. One would believe they never heard of blowing the Trumpet on the New Moons, and Sabbaths, and on the solemn Feast Days; and that God himself was the Author of such an Institution.

In Case of Alms, and so in other religious Acts, God is only pleas'd with the chearful Performance, and had rather be adored upon a Principle of Love and Gratitude, than from a slavish Fear and Dread of his Vengeance. And after all, is not Hypocrisy at the Bottom of these Pretences to uncommon Sanctity, and a never-wearied Devotion? What Man could ever keep his Mind upon the stretch a whole Day? He must be very little acquainted with his own Frame, that does not know, whatever Subject he applies himself intensely to, his Mind will require frequent Relaxations; and a tired, languid Devotion can never be acceptable. Offer it to thy Governor, and see if he will accept it. These People hope to be heard for their much speaking, and even when they utter Blasphemy and Nonsense before Wisdom itself. This Declaration of the King's, therefore, was honestly intended to discountenance a most odious Piece of Pharisaical Hypocrisy, in a Sect that pretended to more Righteousness than the whole Christian World besides: And therefore, it might have become our Historians, especially those of the Church of *England*, to have been less severe in their Censures of the King upon this Occasion.

But to return: However zealous King *James* had always been for Episcopacy, it is observ'd, that in many

many other Points he was very much a *Calvinist*; infomuch, that he caused the Books of *Vorstius* the *Dutchman*, who followed *Arminius* in the Doctrines of Conditional Election and Reprobation, and the Universality of Redemption, to be publickly burnt. And, not contented with this, he prevailed with the *Dutch* to convene a Synod at *Dort*; to which he sent several *English* Divines, and caused these Doctrines to be there synodically censured.

In the Year 1619, the *Palatine* of the *Rhine* being elected King of *Bohemia*, to the Prejudice of the Emperor *Ferdinand*, this engaged the Empire in a sort of religious War, the Protestants taking part with the *Palatine*, and the Popish Princes with the Emperor. The *English* Nation were very importunate with King *James* to assist his Son-in-law the *Palatine* and the Protestant Powers: But the King not approving the Manner of his obtaining the Kingdom, and not willing to disoblige the *Spaniard*, who was in the opposite Interest, (and with whom he was treating of a Match between Prince *Charles* and the Infanta) the King afforded the *Palatine* so very slender an Assistance, that in the Space of a Year he was not only driven from his new acquired Kingdom, but from the *Palatinate* itself, was proscribed as a Traytor to the Empire, and forc'd to fly into *Holland* with his Family.

The *Palatine*
elected King
of *Bohemia*.

Expell'd
from thence,
and from the
Palatinate.

The King, though he was not much concerned at his Son's missing the Kingdom of *Bohemia* (and indeed he would never so much as give him the Stile of King;) yet it was a sufficient Mortification to see him driven from his Hereditary Dominions, and reduced to a State of Dependence. In order to restore him therefore, he called a Parliament, and laid before them the distressed Condition of his Children, and demanded Supplies to enable him to recover the *Palatinate*. But the Parliament fell first

upon their Grievances, among which the Way of raising Money by Patents and Monopolies was one of the most considerable: And the King was forc'd to give up two of his principal Agents, *Mompesson* and *Mitchell*, to appease the People; and they were expos'd, fined, and imprison'd, to deter others from the like Attempts. The Lord *Bacon*, Lord Chancellor, also having about this time been convicted of Bribery and Extortion, was turn'd out, fined, and disgrac'd; and Dr. *Williams* was made Lord-Keeper, who was afterwards Bishop of *Lincoln*, and from thence translated to *York*. Still the Parliament found new Grievances to teaze his Majesty with; and having sat four Months without giving any Supplies, were, on the 4th of *June* 1621, commanded to adjourn to *November* following, when they granted two Subsidies; but drew up a Remonstrance of the Danger of Popery, and the Oppression of Protestants in other Kingdoms, the ill Consequences of the *Spanish* Match, &c. Whereupon the King severely reprimanded them for intermeddling in Affairs of State, and the *Arcana* of Government, that did not belong to them. But they proceeded to enter a Protest in their Journals, that those were Matters proper for their Debates, and asserted their Rights and Privileges, and Freedom of Speech; and that they ought not to be impeached or censured, for what was transacted in the House. This Protest the King tore out of the Journals with his own Hands, and dissolved the Parliament. After which, he committed Sir *Edward Coke*, Mr. *Seldon*, Mr. *Pym*, and some of the busiest Members, to the *Tower*; which occasioned Swarms of Libels upon the Government. Even the Story of *David Rizzio's* Familiarity with the King's Mother was reviv'd.

The Parliament being dissolv'd, the King proceeded vigorously in the *Spanish* Match: And to facilitate

facilitate Matters, he ordered that all Papists that were prosecuted for Recusancy should be discharged. Still this had no Effect. The *Spaniard*, it seems, was not sincere, and found out one Pretence after another to defer coming to a Point: Whereupon the Prince and the Duke of *Bucks* propos'd to the King, that they might go over *incognito* to *Spain*, and either conclude the Match, or entirely break it off. This Project the King was extremely averse to, as looking upon it to be a very hazardous Enterprize, for the Heir apparent of the Crown to put himself into the Hands of a crafty designing Neighbour. But the Duke of *Bucks* would not be denied, and, in a manner, compell'd the King to permit the Prince to make the Experiment they had propos'd: Whereupon they set out but with two Attendants, and by the Way of *France* arrived at *Madrid* before it was known whither they were gone.

Prince
Charles's
Voyage to
Spain.

The Prince met with a very kind Reception in Appearance, and had all the Honours paid him that the Court of *Spain* could invent; and a Dispensation from *Rome* was obtain'd to render the Marriage lawful with a Prince of a different Communion. And now the *Spaniards* seem'd to be in earnest, only they would not be put out of their Pace; and they hoped, by deferring things, and keeping the Prince amongst them, he might at length be induced to alter his Religion. But *Buckingham* and the Prince being impatient of Delays, left the Court of *Spain* almost as unexpectedly as they arrived there, and return'd to *England*, to the great Joy of the whole Kingdom. And that which increased it, was the Firmness the Prince had shewn in his Religion, (which the *Spaniards*, with all their Artifice, had not been able to shake) and his Resolution to break off the Treaty. And the Parliament were so pleas-

ed

ed with the Face of Affairs, that they granted the King large Supplies, in order to enter into a War with *Spain* and the Emperor, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

The *Spanish* Ambassador was so provok'd with the Proceedings of the Duke of *Bucks*, that he endeavoured to render both him and the Prince suspected of Designs against the King, and did, in some measure, prevail. But the Plot was detected, and they were soon restored to full Favour.

It was not long before the King propos'd another Match between his Son and the Princess *Henrietta* of *France*, which was not much more acceptable to the Nation than the former; and he is charged in this Treaty also with consenting to Articles in favour of the Papists, which were inconsistent with his Engagements to the Parliament, not to suspend the penal Laws against them, or give them any Encouragement.

But for my part, I have read the Treaty itself, and I don't find any thing in it stipulated in favour of Papists; but only that the Queen and her Family should have a Chapel, and the free Exercise of their Religion; not one Word in favour of any other Catholics: And for any secret Articles in their favour, we should certainly have had them produc'd, either by Friends or Foes, in the Space of an hundred Years, if there had been any such. As to that Piece of secret History, pretended to come from Monsieur *D' Ageant*, and the Archbishop of *Embrun*, concerning King *James's* Inclination to Popery, it has no great Air of Probability, being contrary to the whole Tenour of his Life, and even to his last dying Words to the Prince, when he advised him to love his intended Wife the Princess *Henrietta*, *but not her Religion*.
And

And there is this further Objection to this Piece of secret History, That it was not mentioned till a considerable time after the King's Death: And it not only comes to us through many suspected Hands of a different Communion, and such who had their particular Views and Interests in having the thing credited; but even those, who are said to be the first Authors of this Suggestion, had plainly an Interest to serve, not only by recommending themselves to their Masters, by having brought about so important an Affair, but even to the whole Body of the *Roman* Catholicks, who ever look'd upon the bringing over the King of *Great-Britain* to their Communion, as the most likely Step to extirpate what they call Heresy out of the World. And whoever weighs the Force of these Considerations together, will, I believe, easily acquit King *James* of any Inclination to reconcile himself to the See of *Rome*, 'till he sees it better proved.

Nor was it less the Interest and Endeavour of the *Puritans*, than of the Papists of those Days, to have the King, as well as his Son King *Charles*, thought to be *popishly affected*. This was their Master-piece, the principal Stratagem they made use of in both Reigns, to strengthen and increase their Party, and to distress their Sovereign: For if the People could once be induc'd to believe this, the Consequence they drew from it was easily assented to, namely, that the King would certainly introduce the Religion he was so affected to; and this would be attended with the Loss of their Estates, and every thing that was dear to them: They must expect Persecution in this World, or Damnation in the next. These were the great Arguments by which they made their Proselytes, and ruin'd a Prince, who was not only best affected, but best understood the
Grounds

Grounds of the Protestant Religion, and was, without Comparifon, the ableft Advocate for it that ever fat upon the *Britifh* Throne. And fhall we of this Age, who are now fully convinced of the Defigns and Hypocrify of the laft, give any Credit to the Suggeftions and Artifices either of Papifts or *Puritans* in this Matter? The People of thofe Days had not the Opportunities of difcovering the fubtle Defigns of thefe Men that we have had, and were fo alarm'd and diftracted with the Fears of fudden Deftitution, with which the Pulpits refounded, that there was no Room left for Reason or Reflection. But thofe who are not now under that Confternation, and have feen through the Defigns of the *Puritans* in charging their Princes with Popery, will rather deteft their unparallel'd Impudence, than be moved, by their Pretences to fecret Hiftory, to entertain a Thought to the Difadvantage of their Memories. It is thus, indeed, they endeavour to juftify or palliate their barbarous Ufage of one of the moft accomplifh'd Princes: But the monftrous Fact will ever remain a Monument of their accursed Principles, and deter Pofterity from liftening to their fpecious Pretences of uncommon Sanctity. To conclude: King *James* liv'd to fee the Articles of Marriage agreed on; but the Marriage was not folemniz'd between the Prince and Princefs till after the King's Death; of which I fhall give an Account in the following Reign.

The King having receiv'd large Supplies from his Parliament, rais'd 6000 Men, and fent them over to join the *Dutch*, who were now reduc'd very low by the *Spaniard*. But tho' the *Dutch* had been from time to time reliev'd and fupported in their Diffreffes by the *Englifh*, there came Advice to *Europe* about this time, that they had ruin'd the *Englifh* Factory at *Amboyna* in the *East Indies*, had rack'd

Amboyna
loft.

rack'd and tortur'd the Company's Servants, in order to make them confess a pretended Conspiracy against their High Mightinesses, and had proceeded, under a Colour of Justice, to murder the *English* Factors, take Possession of their Factory, and totally to exclude them and the rest of the World from the Spice Trade, of which they make infinite Advantage to this Day. Nor have the *English*, in any of their Treaties, yet compelled them to restore that Trade, tho' they have so often had them at their Mercy.

In the following Year, 1625, King *James* rais'd an Army of 12000 Men, to assist his Son and Daughter in the Recovery of the *Palatinate*. They were commanded by Count *Mansfield*, and were to be transported to *Calais*, and march from thence thro' the *French* Territories into *Germany*, according to an Agreement with the *French*. But when the Fleet came before *Calais*, they were not suffered to land, but delay'd from time to time, and endur'd very great Hardships: Whereupon they set sail for *Zealand*, not doubting but they should be kindly receiv'd by their Allies the *Dutch*. But whether they were apprehensive the *English* might be tempted to make Reprizals on them for the *Amboyna* Business, if so considerable a Body of Troops should be added to those that were there already, they would not permit them to disembark; and two Parts in three of the Troops perished thro' Sickness, and other Accidents, before they returned to *England*. Nor has this Kingdom ever suffered more from its greatest Enemies, than it has by the Perseverence and Treachery of some of its false Allies.

King *James* did not live to see the ill Success of this Enterprize; for he died at *Theobalds*, on the 27th of *March* 1625, making a very pious and Christian Exit, as our Authors generally agree.

The

Further Re-
flections on
the Reign of
K. James I.

The beginning of King *James's* Reign is deservedly admir'd, as well for the prudent Administration of the Prince, as the dutiful and affectionate Behaviour of his Subjects. What occasion'd that Misunderstanding between the King and the People of *England* afterwards, was his apparent Partiality to his Countrymen the *Scots*, and his profusely squandering away his Money upon them. This exhausted his Treasury, and put him upon illegal Ways of raising Money, by Loans, Benevolences, Patents and Monopolies, &c. for the *English* Parliament positively refus'd to supply him with Money to be transported to *Scotland*, and to transfer their Wealth to their Northern Neighbours; and all that were oppress'd by the other illegal Methods of raising Money became so many Malecontents. These joining with the *Puritans*, who were perpetually insinuating that the King was about to introduce Popery (and had the Proceedings of the *Spanish* Match to give a Colour to their Suggestions) form'd so considerable a Party among his Subjects, as render'd the latter Part of his Reign very uneasy. 'Tis true, the Money that was rais'd in this Reign was but a Trifle, compar'd with some others; and had it been legally rais'd, and frugally husbanded, would have created no Uneasiness. It was the manner of raising it, and applying it, that gave the Offence: Nor did the People at all reflect on their own Happiness, or the King's wise Administration, in preserving to them an uninterrupted Peace, whereby their Trade flourish'd, and Riches daily flow'd in upon them. This was so far from making any Compensation for those little Encroachments on their Properties, that it render'd them proud and insolent, and inspir'd them with Resolutions of depressing the Prerogative, in a much greater Degree than ever the Court had endeavour'd to raise it: Nay, they

began

began to fancy themselves superior to the Crown, and that the King had no Power but what he derived from them. And accordingly 'tis said of King *James*, that when twelve of the Commons waited on him with a Remonstrance, asserting their Privileges to be something superior to his Prerogative, he immediately called for twelve Chairs for the twelve Kings that were come to attend him.

And to such a Height we find Things carried between the King and his Parliament, that he was forc'd to part with the *Dutch* cautionary Towns, which were of such Importance to *England*, because he had not Money to maintain their Garrisons. The Parliament did indeed give him a Supply to break with *Spain* the Year before he died: But this was appropriated to that particular Use, and the Crown remain'd incumber'd with many heavy Debts; and at the same time they compell'd him to pass an Act against all Patents and Monopolies; so that he had no way to supply his Necessities, but by submitting to such Terms as they were pleased to impose on him. And in these unhappy Circumstances he left the Crown to his Son, who saw those Principles reduc'd to Practice, which were yet but matter of Speculation.

Upon a full View of the Transactions of this Reign, King *James* appears to me in the main a wise, virtuous, and religious Prince. 'Tis true, he came from a poor barren Country to a Kingdom where Wealth abounded more at that time than in any Nation under Heaven; And he met with a People, whose Professions of Loyalty and Submission, accompanied with Offers of their Lives and Fortunes, were as unlimited, as he was afterwards unbounded in his Expences and Gratuities to his Countrymen; which when the *Scots* observed, they plainly

plainly told the *English*, they would spoil a *good King*; and so in reality they did, by over-acting the Part of his Subjects at first, and assuming the Authority of Princes afterwards. Had they observed a due Medium, King *James* would have been an excellent Prince, and they had been a much happier People.



CHARLES I.

1625.



CHARLES I. the third, but only surviving Son of King *James I.* by Queen *Anne*, Daughter of *Frederick II.* King of *Denmark*, succeeded his Father in the Throne, being then about twenty five Years of Age. His Title was the same with his Father's. Nor was there any Objection made to it on his Accession to the Throne, or afterwards, till the deposing Doctrine came to be put in Practice by the Saints his Subjects, who would not admit that a Prince could have any Right or Title, but what he deriv'd from them his Supreme Lords. But of this hereafter. He was crown'd on the 2d of *February*, 1626.

His Marriage and Issue.

He married the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, youngest Daughter of *Henry IV.* of *France*, surnam'd the Great; by whom he had Issue,

1. *Charles*, who died the same Day he was born.
2. *Charles*, who succeeded his Father in the Throne by the Name of *Charles II.*
3. *James*, who succeeded

ceeded his Brother *Charles*, by the Name of *James II.*
 4. *Henry*, who died in the 23^d Year of his Age,
 unmarried.

He had also four Daughters by the same Queen;
 viz. 1. *Mary*, married to *William Nassau*, only Son
 of *Frederick Henry* Prince of *Orange*; by whom she
 had Issue, *William*, afterwards King *William III.*
 2. *Elizabeth*, who died at about fifteen Years of Age
 unmarried. 3. *Anne*, who died at about three Years
 of Age. 4. *Henrietta Maria*, married to *Philip* Duke
 of *Anjou*; by whom she had Issue, *Maria Aloisia*,
 married to *Victor Amadens*, the present Duke of *Sa-*
voy; by whom she has Male Issue now living; and
 also two Daughters, the eldest married to *Lewis* Duke
 of *Burgundy*, the eldest Grandson of *Lewis XIV.*
 who had Issue, *Lewis* the present King of *France*;
 and *Mary Louisa Gabriella*, the other Daughter of
Victor Amadens, Duke of *Savoy*, married to *Philip*
 the present King of *Spain*; by whom she had Is-
 sue, *Philip Lewis*, the present Prince of the *Asturias*;
 and other Children.

King *Charles I.* was openly murdered, before the
 Gates of his own Palace, the 30th of *January*, in
 the forty ninth Year of his Age, and the twenty
 fourth of his Reign, *A. D.* 164⁸, by a small Rem-
 nant of the House of Commons, who had usurped
 the Sovereign Power, and stiling themselves the
 Representatives of all the People of *England*, pre-
 tended that their Prince was accountable to them
 for Male-Administration. They avow'd a Right
 of dethroning, judging, condemning and executing
 him, and were the first of human Race who put
 these detested Principles in Practice, unluckily pitch-
 ing upon a Prince to make an Example of, who
 was the least liable to Exception of any that ever
 swayed the Scepter, if the Character our Histo-
 rians give of him may be depended on; which is

His Age and
 Death.

summ'd up by the Lord *Clarendon* in the following Words :

Character of
K. Charles I.

“ To speak first of his private Qualifications as a
 “ Man, before the Mention of his princely and
 “ royal Virtues : He was, if ever any, the most
 “ worthy of the Title of an honest Man ; so great
 “ a Lover of Justice, that no Temptation could
 “ dispose him to a wrongful Action, except it was
 “ so disguis'd to him that he believ'd it to be just.
 “ He had a Tendernefs and Compassion of Nature,
 “ which restrained him from ever doing a hard-
 “ hearted thing : And therefore he was so apt to
 “ grant Pardon to Malefactors, that the Judges of
 “ the Land represented to him the Damage and In-
 “ security to the Publick, that flow'd from such
 “ his Indulgence. And then he restrained himself
 “ from pardoning either Murders or High-way
 “ Robberies, and quickly discern'd the Fruits of
 “ his Severity by a wonderful Reformation of those
 “ Enormities. He was very punctual and regular
 “ in his Devotions : He was never known to enter
 “ upon his Recreations or Sports, tho' never so ear-
 “ ly in the Morning, before he had been at publick
 “ Prayers ; so that on hunting Days his Chaplains
 “ were bound to a very early Attendance. He was
 “ likewise very strict in observing the Hours of his
 “ private Cabinet Devotions ; and was so severe an
 “ Exacter of Gravity and Reverence in all Men-
 “ tion of Religion, that he could never endure any
 “ light or profane Word, with what Sharpness of
 “ Wit soever it was covered. And tho' he was
 “ well pleas'd and delighted with reading Verses
 “ made upon any Occasion, no Man durst bring
 “ before him any thing that was profane or un-
 “ clean ; that kind of Wit had never any Counte-
 “ nance then. He was so great an Example of
 “ Conjugal

“ Conjugal Affection, that they who did not imi-
 “ tate him in that Particular, durst not brag of
 “ their Liberty. And he did not only permit,
 “ but directed his Bishops to prosecute those scan-
 “ dalous Vices in the Ecclesiastical Courts, against
 “ Persons of Eminence, and near Relation to his
 “ Service.

“ His Kingly Virtues had some Mixture and Al-
 “ lay, that hindered them from shining in full Lustre,
 “ and from producing those Fruits they should have
 “ been attended with. He was not in his Nature
 “ very bountiful, tho’ he gave very much. This
 “ appeared more after the Duke of *Buckingham’s*
 “ Death, after which those Showers fell very rare-
 “ ly; and he paused too long in giving, which
 “ made those to whom he gave less sensible of the
 “ Benefit. He kept State to the full, which made
 “ his Court very orderly, no Man presuming to be
 “ seen in a Place where he had no Pretence to be.
 “ He saw and observed Men long before he receiv-
 “ ed them about his Person, and did not love
 “ Strangers, nor very confident Men. He was a
 “ patient Hearer of Causes, which he frequently
 “ accustomed himself to at the Council-Board, and
 “ judged very well, and was dextrous in the me-
 “ diating Part; so that he often put an End to
 “ Causes by Persuasion, which the Stubbornness
 “ of Men’s Humours made dilatory in Courts of
 “ Justice.

“ He was very fearless in his Person; but in his
 “ riper Years not very enterprizing. He had an ex-
 “ cellent Understanding, but was not confident e-
 “ nough of it; which made him oftentimes change
 “ his own Opinion for a worse, and follow the
 “ Advice of Men that did not judge so well as
 “ himself. This made him more irresolute than the
 “ Conjunction of his Affairs would admit. If he

“ had been of a rougher and more imperious Na-
 “ ture, he would have found more Respect and
 “ Duty. And his not applying some severe Cures
 “ to approaching Evils, proceeded from the Lenity
 “ of his Nature, and the Tendernefs of his Con-
 “ science, which in all Cases of Blood made him
 “ chufe the fofter Way, and not hearken to severe
 “ Councils, how reasonably foever urged. This
 “ only restrained him from purfuing his Advantage
 “ in the first *Scotish* Expedition, when, humanly
 “ fpeaking, he might have reduced that Nation to
 “ the moft entire Obedience that could have been
 “ wished. But no Man can fay he had then many
 “ who advis’d him to it, but the contrary, by a
 “ wonderful Indifpofition all his Council had to
 “ the War, or any other Fatigue. He was always
 “ a great Lover of the *Scotish* Nation, having not
 “ only been born there, but educated by that Peo-
 “ ple, and befieg’d by them always, having few
 “ *English* about him till he was King; and the ma-
 “ jor Number of his Servants being ftill of that
 “ Nation, who he thought could never fail him.
 “ And, among thefe, no Man had fuch an Ascen-
 “ dant over him, by the humbleft InfINUATIONS, as
 “ Duke *Hamilton* had.

“ As he excelled in all other Virtues, fo in Tem-
 “ perance he was fo ftrict, that he abhorred all De-
 “ bauchery to that degree, that, at a great Festival
 “ Solemnity, where he once was, when very ma-
 “ ny of the Nobility of the *English* and *Scots* were
 “ entertained, being told by one who withdrew
 “ from thence, what vaft Draughts of Wine they
 “ drank, and *That there was one Earl, who had drank*
 “ *moft of the reft down, and was not himfelf moved*
 “ *or altered*; the King faid, *That he deferved to be*
 “ *hanged*: And that Earl coming fhortly after into
 “ the Room where his Majefty was, in fome

“ Gaiety,

" Gaiety to shew how unhurt he was from that
" Battel, the King sent one to bid him withdraw
" from his Majesty's Presence; nor did he in some
" Days after appear before him.

" So many miraculous Circumstances contributed
" to his Ruin, that Men might well think that
" Heaven and Earth conspir'd it. Tho' he was
" from the first Declension of his Power so much
" betrayed by his own Servants, that there were
" very few who remained faithful to him; yet that
" Treachery proceeded not always from any rea-
" sonable Purpose to do him any Harm, but from
" particular, and personal Animosities against other
" Men. And afterwards, the Terror all Men were
" under of the Parliament, and the Guilt they were
" conscious of themselves, made them watch all Op-
" portunities to make themselves gracious to those
" who could do them good; and so they became
" Spies upon their Master, and from one piece of
" Knavery were harden'd and confirm'd to under-
" take another; till at last they had no Hope of
" Preservation, but by the Destruction of their
" Master. And after all this, when a Man might
" reasonably believe that less than a universal De-
" fection of three Nations could not have reduced
" a great King to so ugly a Fate; it is most cer-
" tain, that in that very Hour when he was thus
" wickedly murdered in the Sight of the Sun, he
" had as great a Share in the Hearts and Affections
" of his Subjects in general, was as much beloved,
" esteemed, and long'd for by the People in gene-
" ral of the three Nations, as any of his Pre-
" decessors had ever been. To conclude: He was
" the worthiest Gentleman, the best Master, the
" best Friend, the best Husband, the best Father,
" and the best Christian, that the Age in which he
" lived produced. And if he were not the greatest

“ King, if he were without some Parts and Quali-
 “ ties which have made some Kings great and hap-
 “ py, no other Prince was ever unhappy, who
 “ was possess’d of half his Virrues and Endowments,
 “ and so much without any kind of Vice.

To this Character given us by the Lord *Clarendon*, I shall add that of an Enemy, which comes very little short of it; namely, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*’s, who was principal Minister of *Edinburgh*, and Chief Commissioner from the Kirk of *Scotland* to the Parliament and Synod of *England*. This Man made a solemn Declaration on his Death-bed, grounded on the Experience he had in conversing and disputing in Matters of Religion with the King; wherein he prays for the good King’s being restored to his just Rights, and, among other things, says thus:

Henderson’s
 Character of
K. Charles I.

“ I do declare before God and the World, that
 “ since I had the Honour and Happiness to converse
 “ and confer with his Majesty, with all sorts of
 “ Freedom, especially in Matters of Religion, whe-
 “ ther in relation to the Kirk or State, that I found
 “ him the most intelligent Man that ever I spoke
 “ with, as far beyond my Expression as Expecta-
 “ tion. I profess that I was oft-times astonish’d
 “ with the Solidity and Quickness of his Reasons
 “ and Replies; wondered how he, spending his
 “ Time so much in Sports and Recreations, could
 “ have attained to so great Knowledge; and must
 “ confess ingenuously, that I was convinc’d in
 “ Conscience, and knew not how to give him any
 “ reasonable Satisfaction: Yet the Sweetness of his
 “ Disposition is such, that whatsoever I said was
 “ well taken. I must say that I never met with
 “ any Disputant of that mild and calm Temper,
 “ which

“ which convinced me the more, and made me
 “ think that such Wisdom and Moderation could
 “ not be without an extraordinary Measure of Di-
 “ vine Grace. I had heard much of his Carriage
 “ towards the Priests in *Spain*; and that King *James*
 “ told the Duke of *Buckingham* upon his going thi-
 “ ther, that he durst venture his Son *Charles* with
 “ all the Jesuits in the World, he knew him to be
 “ so well grounded in the Protestant Religion; but
 “ could never believe it, before I observed all his
 “ Actions; more particularly those of Devotion,
 “ which I must truly say are more than ordinary.—
 “ If I should speak of his Justice, Magnanimity,
 “ Charity, Sobriety, Chastity, Patience, Humility,
 “ and of all his both Christian and Moral Virtues, I
 “ should run my self into a Panegyrick, and seem
 “ to flatter him to such as did not know him, if
 “ the present Condition that I lie in did not exempt
 “ me from any Suspicion of wordly Ends, when
 “ I expect every Hour to be called from all tran-
 “ sitory Vanities to eternal Felicity, and the dis-
 “ charging of my Conscience before God and Man
 “ did not oblige me to declare the Truth simply
 “ and nakedly, in Satisfaction of that which I
 “ have done ignorantly, though not altogether in-
 “ nocently.

King *James*, by the Advice, and at the particu-
 lar Instance of his Parliament, had entered into a
 War with the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, for
 the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and supporting the
 Protestant Interest in *Germany*. And his Son King
Charles did not only find the Nation engaged in this
 War at his Accession, but the Money given for it
 entirely spent in the Prosecution of it, and a Debt
 upon the Crown of at least 300,000 l.

A Review of
 the Reign of
 K. Charles I.

In these Circumstances he called a Parliament but could not obtain any greater Supplies for carrying on the War than two Subsidies, amounting to about 150,000 £. And instead of granting any thing to discharge the Debts of the Crown, the Parliament refused to continue to him the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage, which his Predecessors, from *Henry VII.* at least, had settled upon them for their respective Lives, for the Support of their Royal Dignity. On the contrary, they deafened him with their Complaints, and Remonstrances of their Grievances, and the Dangers of Popery, when he had not been above three Months upon the Throne, and when it was not possible many Grievances could have happen'd in the time of his Administration. This perverse Proceeding so incens'd the young King, that he in a short time dissolv'd them.

In order to carry on the War, since the Parliament had disappointed him, and the Honour and Interest of the Nation lay at Stake, he was advis'd to raise Money by way of Loan. At the same time a Fleet, with Land Forces on board, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, was fitted out to insult the *Spanish* Coasts: And the Earl remembering the Success his Father had met with at *Cadiz*, thought he could not go upon a more popular Enterprize, than to attempt the taking of that Town, and destroying the Ships in the Harbour. Accordingly the Fleet came before *Cadiz*, and a Descent was made; but whether Matters were ill concerted, or the Place was better provided than was expected, they were soon obliged to reembark. After this it was resolved to wait for the Plate Fleet from the *West-Indies*; but Provisions growing short, and their Men sickly, they set sail for *England*, and that but four Days before the Plate Fleet arriv'd. Which ill Success

cess at the Beginning of this Reign had a very ill Influence on the King's Affairs, and added much to the People's Discontents.

The War continuing, another Project was set on foot for raising Money, by compelling all those who had 40 *l. per Annum* to accept the Honour of Knighthood, or pay a certain Sum to be excused. But these little Projects rather serving to create ill Blood, than to answer the End propos'd, it was resolv'd to call a new Parliament; and in order to keep out such Members as had most oppos'd the Court in the last Reign, many of them were put on Sheriffs; such as Sir *Edward Coke*, who had been Lord Chief Justice; Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, &c. And to keep the Earl of *Bristol* and the Bishop of *Lincoln* out of the House of Lords, no Summons were issued to call them to Parliament: Which Practices were made new Subjects of Complaint. The Commons however voted three Subsidies, and two fifteenths; but these were to attend upon their Grievances, and not to pass into an Act, till they were redressed: And some very sharp and disrespectful Speeches against his Majesty's Administration were made by the factious Members. Hereupon the King severely reprehended the Commons for suffering such seditious Speeches, and for the Shortness of the Supply they had voted. This still incens'd that House the more; and they proceeded to impeach the Duke of *Bucks*, the prime Minister, as the Author of all their Grievances. Whereupon the King committed two of their most insolent Members to the Tower.

The Lords also, looking upon the withholding the Summons of some of their Members to be a Breach of Privilege, petition'd his Majesty to issue Writs for the calling the Earl of *Bristol* and the Bishop of *Lincoln* to Parliament; with which the King

King comply'd; but they receiv'd an Intimation at the same time to forbear their Attendance. However, the Earl of *Bristol* being committed to the *Tower* for Mismanagements in *Spain*, and a Charge of High-Treason exhibited against him by the Attorney General, he was brought to the Bar of the Lord's House, and there he charg'd the Duke of *Bucks* with equal Mismanagements.

The Earl of *Arundel* also being committed to the *Tower* by his Majesty, without specifying his Crime in time of Parliament, this was held to be another Breach of the Privileges of the Peers, and occasioned several Petitions from the Lords, till they obtained his Enlargement.

And the Commons being about to draw up a further Remonstrance for the Removal of the Duke of *Bucks* from the Administration, the King dissolved the Parliament without receiving any Supplies.

After which his Majesty published a Declaration, containing his Reasons for the Dissolution of the two last Parliaments: Wherein he shews, that notwithstanding his Father had been engaged in an expensive War at the Instance of his Parliament, they positively refused to furnish Supplies equal to the Occasion, and spent their time in arraigning and reviling his Administration, and impeaching his faithful and trusty Minister the Duke of *Bucks*; and though for these Reasons he had dissolved those Parliaments, he was nevertheless resolved to redress all his People's just Grievances, both Civil and Religious.

Soon after the Parliament was up, an Order of Council was made for levying Tonnage and Poudage, as heretofore, and a new Commission of Loan was issued. The Crown Lands that were holden by Copy, or otherwise, were granted in Fee upon

valuable

valuable Considerations, and Writs for manning out Ships, or levying Money for that Service, were sent to the several Port Towns; whereupon the City of *London*, and several other Ports, petitioned for an Exemption, or at least an Abatement of what was demanded, alledging, that the Tax was without Precedent. And indeed of late Years no such Writs had been issued: But the Necessity of the King's Affairs at this time was given as a Reason for insisting on their respective Quotas; for the King was about this time engag'd in a new War with *France*, which was occasion'd chiefly by his discharging all the Queen's *French* Servants, who were apprehended to have done ill Offices between their Majesties, and to have kept Intelligence with the *French* Court, to the Disadvantage of this Kingdom.

A War being declared, a Fleet was fitted out for the Assistance of the Protestants at *Rochel*; but being shatter'd by a Storm, they were forced to return to *England*, without giving the *Rochellers* any Assistance.

The Court resolutely proceeded to compel the Payment of the Loan: And accordingly, those who refus'd to give what was demanded, if they were of any Quality, were summon'd before the Council, and committed for their Contempt; and the inferior sort were many of them press'd into the King's Service; which occasioned great Murmurs among the People, and very much lessen'd the Interest of the Court. And *Sibthorp*, *Mamwaring*, and several of the Clergy, unhappily fell in with these Measures, asserting in their Sermons the King's *Right* to demand Aids and Taxes without Consent of Parliament, and that the Subject was obliged in Conscience to pay them.

This,

This, with the general Imputation of their inclining to Popery and Arminianism, rais'd such Prejudices against the Clergy, in the Gentry as well as Commonalty, as—— contributed very much to that Ruin which followed. Not that the People, either then or now, one in a hundred of them knew what Arminianism was ; but it was a Term their Leaders had pitched upon to brand such Persons with as were in a different Interest, or they had mark'd out for Destruction. It has been long observ'd, that the Mob are govern'd by Names and Sounds ; and the calling a Man this or that obnoxious Name, is a much shorter and easier Method of effecting his Ruin, than the making good a legal Charge against him.

To return : Another Fleet was fitted out for the Assistance of the *Rochellers*, commanded by the Duke of *Bucks* in Person ; but when they came before the Place, the *Rochellers* had entertain'd such a Distrust of the *English*, that they shut their Gates against the Duke ; and would hardly admit of a Messager from him ; and when they did, they excus'd the admitting of his Troops : Whereupon he made an unsuccessful Attempt upon the Isle of *Ree*, where when he had spent some Months in the Siege of a Castle, and lost many of his Men, he returned to *England* again. The *Rochellers* would at last have joined him ; but it was too late : The *French* King had had time to assemble his Forces, and put himself in a Posture to oppose them, and nothing considerable could afterwards be effected.

The Nation being full of Complaints upon the extraordinary Methods that had been taken to raise Money, and the King being engaged in a War with so many potent Enemies, he thought fit to try the Affections of a third Parliament, which was assembled on the 17th of *March* 1628. The King, soon

after the opening the Sessions, condescended to grant their Petition of Right; the most material Part whereof was, that no Taxes or Talliages should be raised for the future without Consent of Parliament; and the Commons in return voted him five Subsidies, and appeared in the Beginning to be of a better Temper than the two former Parliaments. But it was not long before they drew up another Remonstrance of their Civil and Religious Grievances, charging the Duke of *Bucks* to be the Author of them all; and that they could never be safe, while so great a Power both by Sea and Land was committed to him.

They also remonstrated against the King's taking Tonnage and Poundage, as being a Breach of the Fundamental Liberties of the Kingdom, and desired he would not take it in ill part of his Subjects that refus'd to pay it; which the King highly resented, and prorogu'd them, having first pass'd the Bills of Subsidies, &c.

After the rising of the Parliament, another Fleet was sent to the Relief of *Rochel*; but the Admiral finding a *French* Squadron before the Town, return'd to *England* without effecting any thing. The Duke of *Bucks* hereupon resolv'd to relieve the *Rochellers* in Person, and to that end was assembling a great Fleet, and Land Forces, at *Portsmouth*. But as he was going out of one Room into another, *Felton*, a discontented Lieutenant, stabb'd him with a Knife to the Heart; whereupon he fell down dead, saying no more, but, *The Villain has killed me*. The Assassin declared, his only Motive to it was the Remonstrance of the House of Commons against the Duke; and that he thought he could not sacrifice his Life in a nobler Cause, than by delivering his Country from so great an Enemy: But some thought it was personal Revenge prompted him to

to it, because he was not preferr'd as he expected. *Rochel* soon after surrender'd to the *French* King upon Terms.

The Merchants encourag'd by the Declaration of the Commons against paying Tonnage and Poundage, many of them refus'd it, and were committed for their Contempt, and their Merchandizes were sold to pay the Duty; which prov'd a Discouragement to Trade, and was complain'd of by the City of *London* as a great Grievance.

On the 20th of *January*, 1629, the Parliament met again, and the King opened the Sessions with a condescending Speech, declaring that he did not take Tonnage and Poundage *as his Right*, but *de bene esse*; and desired it might be settled on him by Parliament, as it had been upon his Ancestors.

The Commons, however, resolv'd to begin with their religious Grievances, and postpone the settling of Tonnage and Poundage, and address'd his Majesty for a Fast. The King answered, that the Custom of fasting every Sessions was but lately begun, and he was not fully satisfied of the Necessity of it at this time; but he would however grant their Request now, provided it were not made a Precedent for frequent Fasts. The Commons proceeded in their Complaints of Popery and Arminianism, and debated concerning a Punishment of the Officers who had seiz'd the Merchants Goods for Tonnage and Poundage: Whereupon the King sent them a Message, that what the Officers had done was by his particular Direction at the Council-board. Still they would put the Question, *That the seizing the Goods of a Merchant, who was a Member of the House, was a Breach of Privilege.* And the Speaker telling them he had a Command from the King to adjourn, and put no Question, he was held down in the Chair by Force, 'till they had drawn

drawn up a Protest, importing, that whoever should introduce, or countenance Popery and Arminianism, should be reputed a capital Enemy to the King and Kingdom; as likewise should those who levied or paid Tonnage or Poundage. The King being inform'd of these riotous Proceedings, sent for the Sergeant of the House of Commons; but the Door was lock'd, and he was not permitted to attend his Majesty. Then the King sent the Usher of the Black Rod to them; but he was refus'd Admittance 'till the Protest was read, and then in Confusion they adjourn'd.

Hereupon several of the most turbulent and riotous Members were summon'd before the Council; and refusing to answer as to what they had done in the House, they were committed to the *Tower*. The King went to the House of Lords ten Days before the time the Commons had adjourn'd to, and dissolv'd the Parliament, first making the Lords a Speech; wherein he took notice of the undutiful and seditious Carriage of the Commons, and at the same time express'd entire Satisfaction in the Conduct of the Lords.

The Members that were committed, rather than give Security for their good Behaviour, or ask the King's Pardon, chose to remain confin'd, and some of them died in Custody; but those that survived, by the Merit of their Obstinacy became great Men afterwards in the Parliament of 1641.

The King having receiv'd no Supplies this Session, and the Commons having done what in them lay to prevent his taking Tonnage and Poundage, which was his only Support, he thought fit soon after to enter into Treaties with *France* and *Spain*, which ended in a Peace with both those Kingdoms. But still the War with the Emperor requir'd Money

ney to carry it on ; therefore many Projects were set on foot to replenish the King's Coffers, as the reviving of Knighthood, a Duty on Cards and Dice, the erecting Monopolies, &c.

The Puritan Preachers about this time rent their Throats in declaiming against the Government in Church and State : And one Dr. *Leighton*, a Scot, asserted, That *God's People were persecuted in this Island ; that the Prelates were Men of Blood ; that their Prelacy was Antichristian and Satanical ; that the Kneeling at the Sacrament was a Spawn of the Beast, and that the Queen was a Daughter of Heth.* And many other such soft Expressions did this Man utter, for which he was try'd and convicted in the Star-Chamber, and sentenc'd to be fin'd and imprison'd, to be pillory'd and whipp'd, his Ears cropt, and his Nose slit. Which Sentence, however just, and tho' some of the Judges declar'd that his Offence amounted to High-Treason, and that there was a Necessity of using some Severity to put a Stop to the licentious Tongues of seditious Preachers, and particularly towards this Criminal, who obstinately refus'd to acknowledge his Offence, tho' the Court waited several Months before any Part of the Sentence was executed upon him : I say, notwithstanding the apparent Necessity the Government was under of discouraging those Practices, yet the manner of the Punishment was not well consider'd of ; for the whipping the Wretch thro' the Streets, cutting off his Ears, and mangling his Face, in the Sight of the Multitude, created more Horror, and consequently more Pity and Compassion in them, than any capital Punishment would have done. The dreadful Execution ingross'd their whole Attention, and in a manner effac'd the Memory of his Crime. The Malecontents did not fail, upon this Occasion, to exclaim at the Cruelty and Barbarity
of

of their Governors, though the Crime, for which *Leighton* was punish'd, was no less than an inciting the People to Sedition and Rebellion, which, in almost every Kingdom in the World but this, is punish'd with the most exquisite Tortures, and even Death itself.

It was not long after this that *Pryn* was sentenc'd in the Star-Chamber to lose his Ears, for writing a Libel on the Queen and Court, call'd *Histrionastix*; and some few Years after, he, with *Burton* and *Bastwick*, was again fin'd and pillory'd, and sentenc'd to have his Ears cropt still shorter, for writing other seditious and libellous Books.

The Modesty and Temper of these admir'd Puritanical Confessors may be gather'd from the following Passages in *Bastwick's* Answer in the Star-Chamber; where he says, *That the Prelates are Invaders of the King's Prerogative Royal, Contemners and Despisers of the Holy Scriptures, Advancers of Popery, Superstition, Idolatry, and Profaneness; they abuse the King's Authority to the Oppression of his loyal Subjects, and therein express great Cruelty, Tyranny, and Injustice; and in the Execution of this impious Performance, they shew neither Wit, Honesty, nor Temperance; nor are they Servants of God or the King, (as they ought to be indeed) but of the Devil, &c.* Of these Men the Lord *Clarendon* gives the following Description: They were three Persons most notorious for their declared Malice against the Government of the Church by Bishops in their several Books, and Writings, which they had publish'd to corrupt the People, with Circumstances very scandalous, and in Language very scurrilous and impudent; which all Men thought deserv'd very exemplary Punishment. They were of the three several Professions which had the most Influence upon the People, a Divine, a Common Lawyer, and a Doctor of Physick;

none of them of Interest or any Esteem with the worthy Part of their several Professions, having been formerly all look'd upon under Characters of Reproach : Yet when they were all sentenc'd, and for the Execution of that Sentence brought out to be punish'd as common and signal Rogues, expos'd upon Scaffolds to have their Ears cut off, and their Faces and Foreheads branded with hot Irons (as the poorest and most mechanick Malefactors us'd to be, when they were not able to redeem themselves by any Fine for their Trespases, or to satisfy any Damages for the Scandals they had rais'd against the good Name and Reputation of others) Men began no more to consider their Manners, but the Men; and each Profession, with Anger and Indignation enough, thought their Education, and Degrees, and Quality, would have secur'd them from such infamous Judgments, and treasur'd up Wrath for the time to come.

Pryn, indeed, afterwards, when he saw the Destruction he and his Brethren had brought upon his Country by his seditious Practices, ingenuously acknowledg'd, *that the King had done the Nation good Service, if he had taken his Head when he had crop'd his Ears.*

In the ninth Year of this Reign, *A. D.* 1633, the King went in great State to his antient Kingdom of *Scotland*, where he was crown'd by *Dr. Spotswood*, Archbishop of *St. Andrews*; and having held a Parliament there, and pass'd some necessary Acts, he return'd to *England* before the End of the Summer.

Archbishop *Abbot* dying this Year, *Dr. Land*, Bishop of *London*, was translated to the See of *Canterbury*, and unluckily for him, in the first Year of his Primacy the King was pleas'd to revive an Order of King *James I.* to prevent the superstitious Observation of the *Sabbath*. In

In this Order his Majesty observes, that under Pretence of taking away Abuses, there had been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary Meetings on *Sundays*, but of the Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, commonly call'd *Wakes*: Whereupon his Majesty expressly requir'd, that these Feasts, with others, should be observ'd; and that the *Justices* of Peace should take care, that all Disorders at such Meetings should be prevented or punish'd; but that *Neighbourhood and Freedom, with manlike and lawful Exercises*, might be used, and no Men molested in their lawful Recreations on *Sundays*, having first done their Duty to God. And this was requir'd to be read in every Parish-Church. However innocent and commendable this Declaration was in itself, it is generally held that it was not well tim'd; for some ignorant, but popular Preachers, who were unacquainted with the manner of keeping this Festival in the primitive Times, had turn'd it into a *Jewish Sabbath*, contrary to the Opinion and Practice of the whole Christian World; and, under Pretence of greater Purity and Sanctity than their Neighbours, had gain'd many Profelytes to their Opinion: And these joining with the Sons of Sedition and Faction, took occasion from hence to vilify and asperse their Governors in Church and State, as countenancing Profaneness and Irreligion; though it was remarkable of these Saints, that afterwards they never scrupled to assemble in Parliament, and elsewhere, on *Sundays*, to plot the Destruction of their Prince. And even at this Day, do but denominate any Action a *Work of Necessity*, that is, a Work that will advance the good old Cause, or conduce to their particular Interests, and not a Puritan of 'em all that will make a Scruple of labouring in it on the *Lord's-day*, even to the Neglect of all religious Duties. However, this allowing of the

Order against the
superstitious
Observation
of the *Sabbath*
reviv'd.

Feasts of the Dedication of Churches, and other innocent Recreations on *Sundays*, after Evening Service, was imputed afterwards to the Advice of Archbishop *Land*, and made one of the Articles, which, accumulated with others, were said to amount to an Evidence of High-Treason. For farther Reflections on the Book of Sports, I refer the Reader to the sixteenth Year of King *James I.* when a Declaration of the like Nature was published.

But this allowing lawful Recreations on *Sundays*, did not create greater Prejudices against the King and the Archbishop, than their Endeavours to have the Service of the Church decently and regularly perform'd, as appears from my Lord *Clarendon*. He says, the Remissness of the late Archbishop *Abbot*, and of other Bishops by his Example, had introduc'd, or at least conniv'd at a Negligence, that gave great Scandal to the Church, and no doubt offended many pious Men. The People took so little care of the Churches, and the Parsons as little of the Chancels, suffering them to be kept so indecently and slovenly, that they would not have endur'd it in the ordinary Offices of their own Houses; the Rain and the Wind to infest them; and the Sacraments themselves to be administred where the People had most mind to receive them. This profane Liberty and Uncleanliness Archbishop *Land* resolv'd to reform with all Expedition, requiring the other Bishops to concur with him in so pious a Work; and the Work sure was very grateful to all Men of Devotion: Yet, I know not how, the Prosecution of it, with too much Affectation of Expence, it may be, or with too much Passion between the Ministers and Parishioners, raised an evil Spirit towards the Church, which the Enemies of it took much Advantage of, as soon as they had an Opportunity to make the worst Use of it.

Another

Another Occasion of Clamour against the Government, was the requiring the Descendants of the *Walloons*, who were Natives of *England*, to conform to the Establish'd Church. But that which was look'd upon as the greatest and most general Grievance, as affecting the Purfes of the King's Subjects, of what Persuasion or Denomination soever, was the issuing the Writ for levying Ship-Money; where-
 by such and such Sea-port Towns, and Maritime Counties, were requir'd to fit out a certain Number of Ships of War, for the Defence of the Kingdom, at their own Costs. This was petition'd against by the City of *London*, but to no Effect: The Levies still went on, and the Charge the next Year became more general, the Inland, as well as the Maritime Counties, being requir'd to fit out Ships for the Defence of the Kingdom. By this Fund of Ship-Money (which was kept as a separate Bank for the Navy Royal) Bishop *Kennet* tells us, the King was enabled to set out a Fleet of forty Men of War, under the Command of the Earl of *Lindsey*, Admiral; and twenty Sail more under the Earl of *Essex*, Vice-Admiral, for securing of the narrow Seas, and asserting the Dominion of them. And indeed the considerable Increase of the *French* Navy, and their late building several greater Ships, and threatening the Sea-ports in *Flanders*, together with the Progress which the *Hollanders* had now made in their Attempts of fishing upon our Coasts, and the great Improvements of Piracy made by the *Algerines* and other Rovers, who now infested the very Channel, were a great Argument for the Necessity of setting out a Fleet, which, under the present Circumstances, could not be done without an extraordinary Aid. And for the Legality of this Tax, the King had the unanimous Opinion of the twelve Judges, as appears by the following Case and Answer.

The Case of
Ship-Money.

*The CASE of SHIP-MONEY put
to the Judges the second of Febru-
ary, 12 Car. I. with the Judges
Answer.*

Carolus Rex.

“ **W** HEN the Good and Safety of the King-
“ dom in general is concern’d, and the
“ whole Kingdom in Danger, Whether may not
“ the King, by Writ under the Great Seal of
“ *England*, command all the Subjects of our King-
“ dom, at their Charge, to provide and furnish
“ such a Number of Ships, with Men, Victuals,
“ and Munition, and for such time as we shall
“ think fit, for the Defence and Safeguard of the
“ Kingdom from such Danger and Peril, and by
“ Law compel the doing thereof, in case of Re-
“ fusal or Refractoriness? And whether in such a
“ Case is not the King the sole Judge both of the
“ Danger, and when and how the same is to be
“ prevented and avoided?

To which the Judges return’d this Answer.

May it please your most excellent Majesty,

“ **W** E have, according to your Majesty’s Com-
“ mand, every Man by himself, and all
“ of us together, taken into serious Consideration
“ the Case and Question signed by your Majesty,
“ and inclosed in your Royal Letter: And we are
“ of Opinion, that when the Good and Safety of
“ the Kingdom in general is concern’d, and the
“ Kingdom in Danger, your Majesty may, by
“ Writ

“ Writ under the Great Seal of *England*, command
 “ all your Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their
 “ Charge, to provide and furnish such a Number
 “ of Ships, with Men, Victuals, and Munition, and
 “ for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for
 “ the Defence and Safeguard of this Kingdom from
 “ such Danger and Peril ; and that by Law your
 “ Majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case
 “ of Refusal or Refractoriness. And we are also
 “ of Opinion, that in such Case your Majesty is
 “ the sole Judge both of the Danger, and when
 “ and how the same is to be prevented and a-
 “ voided.

“ *John Bramston, John Finch, Humphrey*
 “ *Davenport, John Denham, Richard*
 “ *Hutton, William Jones, George Crook,*
 “ *Thomas Trevor, George Vernon, Francis*
 “ *Crawley, Robert Berkley, Richard*
 “ *Weston.*

The Effect of this Opinion the Lord *Clarendon*
 gives us in the following Words : “ It is notori-
 “ ously known, that Pressure was borne with much
 “ more Chearfulness before the Judgment for the
 “ King, than ever it was afterwards ; Men before
 “ pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the
 “ King’s Service, as a Testimony of their Affecti-
 “ on, which they were not bound to do — But
 “ when they heard this demanded in a Court of
 “ Law as a Right, and found it by sworn Judges
 “ of the Law adjudged so, upon such Grounds and
 “ Reasons as every Stander-by was able to swear was
 “ not Law, and so had lost the Pleasure and De-
 “ light of being kind and dutiful to the King ;
 “ and instead of giving, were requir’d to pay, and
 “ by a Logick that left no Man any thing which

“ he might call his own, they no more look’d up-
 “ on it as the Case of one Man, but the Case of
 “ the Kingdom ; nor as an Imposition laid upon
 “ them by the King, but by the Judges ; which
 “ they thought themselves bound in Conscience to
 “ the publick Justice not to submit to. — The
 “ Damage and Mischief cannot be express’d, that
 “ the Crown and State sustain’d by the deserved
 “ Reproach and Infamy that attended the Judges,
 “ by being made use of in this, and like Acts of
 “ Power ; there being no Possibility to preserve the
 “ Dignity, Reverence, and Estimation of the Laws
 “ themselves, but by the Integrity and Innocency
 “ of the Judges. — And Mr. *Hampden* after-
 “ wards became exceeding popular by opposing this
 “ Imposition.

Nor were the Discontents of the *Scots* less than
 those of the *English* ; for since the Removal of their
 Prince and Court into *England*, that little Money
 they had was carried thither, and their Trade very
 much decay’d : And what had added to their Dis-
 contents, was the Attempts King *James* had made to
 render them conformable to the *English* in the Exer-
 cise of their Religion. He had obtain’d an Act for
 a publick Liturgy, in a General Assembly at *Aber-*
deen, A. D. 1616 ; and some further Concessions and
 Conclusions, agreeable to the Pattern of the Church
 of *England*, in an Assembly at *Perth*, A. D. 1618 ;
 and several *Scots* Bishops were consecrated in *Eng-*
land. And it was enacted, that *whatsoever his Ma-*
jesty should determine in the external Government of
the Church, with the Advice of the Archbishops, Bi-
shops, and a competent Number of the Ministry, should
have the Strength of a Law. These Advances (says
 Bishop *Kennet*) towards the Constitution of the
 Church of *England* in the former Reign, however
 just

just and reasonable, had made the People more and more averſe to the Church and Court of *England*. Under theſe popular Fears and Jealouſies, the King, being in *Scotland* in 1633, had committed it to the Care of ſome of the Biſhops there, to provide a Book of Canons and a Liturgy for that Kingdom, to be tranſmitted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other *Engliſh* Biſhops, and after their Approbation, to be confirm'd and enjoin'd by the King. The Book of Canons, which ſhould have followed the Liturgy (becauſe referring to the Rites and Ceremonies required by it) came prepoſterouſly out before it, in 1635, and had many invidious things in it; ſuch as a Declaration of the unlimited Power and full perſonal Supremacy of their Kings, that all Biſhops and Clergy-men ſhould bequeath ſome-what to the Church, that no Presbyter ſhould reveal any thing received in Confefſion, and other Proviſo's very new, and odious to the common People there, becauſe they could not underſtand them. This Diſpoſition of Things and Perſons made it an ill Sealon for the Reception of the Liturgy that was to be now ſent among them, after it had been compiled in *Scotland*, and peruſed and amended by the Biſhops in *England*, and confirmed by the King, and now publiſh'd, with his Maſteſty's Reaſons for enjoining of it, and with Inſtructions to the Biſhops of that Kingdom to proceed with Moderation and Patience in obtaining the good Effects of it. *Eaſter*-Day in this Year had been appointed for the firſt reading of this Service; but either upon better Conſideration of the *Engliſh* Court, or rather a ſly Deſign of the *Scotch* Miniſtry, it was deferr'd to the 23d of *July*, on which Day it was begun to be read in the chief Church of *St. Giles* in *Edinburgh*: But immediately the People fell into Clamours and Confuſion, crying out, *A Pope, a Pope, Antichriſt, Antichriſt,*

Antichrist, stane him, stane him; meaning the Dean of *Edinburgh*, then reading in the Desk, habited in a Surplice.

The Bishop of *Edinburgh*, who was to preach that Day, stept into the Pulpit, and attempted to appease the Tumult; but a Stool was thrown at his Head, diverted by the Hand of one present. The Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and other Lords, could have no Influence on the Mob, till the Provost, Bailiffs, and City Magistrates, did, with some Difficulty, thrust out of the Church the chief of the Mutineers, and shut the Church Doors against them; after which the Dean read the Service, tho' grievously interrupted by the Rabble, who stood knocking at the Doors, and threw in Stones at the Windows, and betray'd all the Fury of an enrag'd Multitude. The Lords of the Council complain'd to the King of this Disorder, and spar'd not to lay the Blame of it upon the Bishops, whose late Advances in Power and Revenue, with their Zeal to pursue all Directions from the *English* Court, had help'd to make them the more odious to the Commonalty; and, indeed, the more envied and fear'd by the Nobility and Gentry. These Commotions, tho' inhibited by several Proclamations, and restrained as far as possible by the Civil Power, frequently return'd with greater Noise and Numbers, till they ended at last in that Conspiracy of a *Solemn League and Covenant*, that perfectly unhing'd the Government.

In *England* the Cry of Innovations in Religion also increas'd; some of the principal whereof were accounted the reading the Communion-Service at the Table, the bowing towards the Altar, and the placing the Table Altar-wise. Bishop *Kennet*, in his *English* History, very well observes, how poor and frivolous these Objections were; and says, it is
a Sub-

a Subject of Wonder, how the Leaders of the Faction could improve these Trifles into a Design of introducing Popery; especially when Archbishop *Land*, whom they principally charge with them, was at this time the great Obstructor of Popery: For the Bigotry of the Queen for her *French* Religion, and the King's entire Affection for her, had gain'd the Papists such an Influence at Court, that they began to grow insolent and very assuming, and would have triumph'd more in their Strength and Numbers, if the good Archbishop had not interpos'd, and at the very Council-Table took the Courage to use, what he himself in his Diary calls free Speech, to the King, concerning the Increase of the *Roman* Party.

The *Scots*, notwithstanding the King comply'd with their Importunity for tolerating the Presbyterian Government, and published a Declaration that he would not press the Service-Book or Canons upon them, could give them no Satisfaction; but the Covenanters resolv'd *they would have a general Assembly, that the Bishops should have no Vote in it, that Episcopacy should be abolish'd, the Articles of Perth condemn'd, and all Persons, under Pain of Excommunication, should take the Covenant.*

The King humour'd them so far as to call a General Assembly, and appointed the Marquis of *Hamilton* High-Commissioner; but they were no sooner assembled, than they fell upon prosecuting the Bishops, and declared they would pursue them as long as they had Lives and Fortunes. Whereupon the Marquis dissolved the Assembly; but they would not be dissolv'd. They told the Commissioner they were sorry he left them; but *their Consciences bore them witness they had hitherto done nothing amiss, and therefore would not desert the Work of the Lord.* They declar'd, *they had a Right to uninter-*
rupted

rupted Sitting; and for his Majesty to countermand it, was to prejudge the Prerogative of Jesus Christ, and the Liberties of the Kirk. And they continued Sitting, depriv'd several Bishops, abolish'd Episcopacy, and did many other illegal and extravagant Acts. Whereupon the High-Commissioner let his Majesty know there was no hopes of reducing them but by Force.

The King
marches a-
gainst the
Scots.

Hereupon the King assembled an Army, and having summon'd great Numbers of the Nobility and Gentry to attend him, on the 27th of *March* 1639, he march'd from *London* towards the *North*. When the King came to *York*, his Generals march'd further Northward, and came in sight of the *Scots* Troops; but though the *English* were much superior upon all Accounts, they only shew'd themselves to the *Scots*; and when they at any time advanc'd, the *English* retreated in great Confusion. And a Treaty being propos'd by the *Scots*, and advis'd by the Nobility about the King, a most inglorious Pacification was concluded, and the King's Army disbanded, while the *Scots* were suffer'd to keep up theirs, and proceed in new-modelling the Government as they saw fit.

My Lord *Clarendon* was of Opinion the King never intended to make War in Earnest; but believ'd, that by shewing an Army to them, which was able to force them to any Conditions, they would have begg'd Pardon for the Contest they had made, and so he should have settled the Church and all Things else according to his Pleasure. And sure he might have done so, had he had but State Skill, (says the noble Historian) and been constant to his own Interest, and positive in denying their insolent Demands.

Whether my Lord *Clarendon's* Conjecture, concerning the King's Pacifick Intentions at this time, be

be right or not, there is no doubt to be made that the King was betray'd in this Expedition, both in his Councils, and by his Generals. To see regular Troops, superior in Numbers to the Enemies, retiring before an undisciplin'd Mob, could proceed from nothing else but Treachery. They never so much as pretended the King's Orders for this Conduct, and were glad to shift it off from one to another: And their Treachery is the more to be suspected, because when the Civil Wars broke out, these very Generals serv'd in the Rebels Armies against him. When the King observed the great Resort of the *Scots* to his Quarters at *York*, it seems he was jealous of some underhand Dealing; and we find the Lords *Say* and *Brook* positively refused to disavow a Correspondence with the *Scots* Covenanters. And it is generally believ'd, that at this Pacification the Saints and Seditious of both Kingdoms laid the Scheme for the Destruction of their Prince.

The *Scots*, not long after this, absolutely threw off their Allegiance to the King of *England*, and put themselves under the Protection of the *French* King (as appear'd by an intercepted Letter which the King produc'd in the House of Lords.)

The King hereupon levied another Army, and chang'd his Commanders, making the Earl of *Northumberland* General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant-General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse; and called a Parliament, which met on the 13th of *April*, 1640; not doubting but they would have afforded their Assistance to have reduc'd the *Scots* Rebels.

But instead of assisting his Majesty, they first petition'd him for a Fast, and then fell upon their civil and religious Grievances; which they would have redress'd before they advanc'd a Shilling.

The

The King sent them Message after Message, remembering them of the Urgency of his Affairs, the *Scots* being about to enter *England* a second time, and promis'd a Redress of their Grievances; but to no purpose; they would still proceed in their own Way. Whereupon he dissolv'd them on the 5th of *May* following, and imprison'd some of the most turbulent Members.

The King having receiv'd Intelligence from the Lord *Conway*, that the *Scots* were enter'd the *English* Borders, begun his March towards the *North* on the 20th of *August*, 1640, and published a Proclamation, declaring the *Scots* Traitors; but offered a Pardon to all that should return to their Allegiance. The *Scots*, on the 27th of *August*, advanc'd as far as *Newborn upon Tyne*, four Miles *West* of *Newcastle*: And here the King's Forces, to the Number of four thousand Men, under the Command of the Lord *Conway*, disputed the Passage of that River with them; but being defeated, the Lord *Conway* abandon'd *Newcastle*, and retreated with the Remainder of his Troops to *Durham*. When this Defeat happen'd, the King was come as far as *Northallerton* with the Body of his Army; but receiving Advice of the ill Fortune of his Van-guard, he retir'd to *York*, and issued out Writs, dated the 7th of *September*, to all the Peers of *England* to meet at a Great Council at *York*, to be held the 24th.

Upon the assembling this Great Council, his Majesty was advis'd to send sixteen Peers to treat with the *Scots*. And a Letter was writ to the City of *London*, subscribed by all the Peers that were present, to lend his Majesty two hundred thousand Pounds for the Subsistence of his Troops, till a Parliament could be held; which the City comply'd with. And at the Treaty between the *English* and *Scotch* Commissioners, it was agreed, that there should be

a Cef-

a Cessation of Arms; that the *Scots* should remain in the County of *Northumberland* and Bishoprick of *Durham*, till a Peace was concluded; and that they should receive eight hundred and fifty Pounds a Day for Contributions. These Articles were ratified by the King, by the Advice of his Great Council: And all other Matters in dispute were referred to a further Treaty to be held at *London*, where the *Scots* Commissioners soon after arriv'd; and there, with the disaffected Party in the Parliament of *England*, they effected the Ruin of the King, and the Destruction of the three Kingdoms.

The Parliament met at *Westminster* the 3d of *November* 1640; and having chosen Mr. *Lenthall*, a Benchet of *Lincolns-Inn*, for their Speaker, they immediately fell upon their Grievances, as Ship-Money, Innovations in Religion, &c. And Mr. Secretary *Windebank*, being declared a great Promoter of Popery, fled beyond Sea. The *Scots* Commissioners also exhibited a Charge against Archbishop *Land*, as the Author of all their Troubles; whereupon he was voted a Traitor; the Lord *Strafford* was impeach'd of High-Treason; and the Lord Keeper *Finch* was also voted a Traitor, and made his Escape to *Holland*. And the Commons, instead of driving out the *Scots*, enter'd into a Correspondence with them, depended upon their Countenance, and voted that a friendly Assistance and Relief should be given towards a Supply of their Losses, and advanc'd them three hundred thousand Pounds. They afterwards disbanded the King's Army, but suffered the *Scots* to remain in a Body to bring the King to Terms.

The King made several gracious Speeches to his Parliament, offered to redress their Grievances, and pass'd a Bill for Triennial Parliaments: But some of their furious Leaders reviv'd the Cry of Grievances

Archbishop
Land im-
peached.

ances again; whereupon they begun to shew the utmost Disaffection to the Church, and its most zealous Friends; and particularly towards Archbishop *Land*, whom they impeached, and caus'd to be committed to the *Tower*. But the first great Sacrifice they made, was the Earl of *Strafford*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies. This Gentleman's great Abilities, as a Statesman and a Soldier, they very much dreaded, as well as some Discoveries he had made of the leading Members of the Commons corresponding with the *Scots* in their Invasion of *England*; and he had infallibly impeach'd them of High-Treason, and broke the Neck of their Schemes, if they had not been a Day or two too quick for him, and impeach'd him first. I shall not enlarge upon his Tryal; only observe, that the Commons being able to prove no Treason against him, pass'd an Act of Attainder to take him off; and what was a Master-piece, made the Lords their Tools to procure the Royal Assent, which they procur'd, though the King had publicly declared him innocent. It is said, the King was advised to distinguish between his publick and his private Conscience; and that though he himself believ'd him innocent, yet he ought, in Matters of State, to resign his Understanding to the Opinion of his Great Council; especially where the doing it might preserve his three Kingdoms from Ruin. But by what Arts soever the King was prevail'd with to sign a Commission to pass this Bill, most certainly at the same time he did it, he sign'd his own Destruction: For after this, when all Men saw he would give up his ablest and most faithful Ministers to the Fury of the Commons, no Man durst advise him, or engage heartily in his Service. The Commons they saw vested with a Power of punishing and protecting whom they

they saw fit, and the King retain'd little more than the Stile of Sovereignty afterwards. This noble Earl, to relieve the King from the great Perplexity he was in, 'tis true, wrote a Letter advising his Majesty to consent to his Death. But surely this was still a most moving Argument against it: So resign'd; so faithful a Friend, ought never to have been abandon'd; and the King was sensible, when 'twas too late, that in consenting to the Death of the Earl, he prepared the Way for his own, and for all those Miseries that beset the three Kingdoms, tho' the Hopes of preventing their Destruction was no doubt the great Argument that induc'd him to comply.

To proceed: So merciless were this Gentleman's Enemies, that the King was not able to procure a Reprieve of three Days for him, and he was executed on the 12th of *May* 1641.

The next Step the Parliament took towards dethroning their Sovereign, was the extorting an Act that the present Parliament should not be dissolved but by Act of Parliament.

And now they had made themselves in a manner perpetual, and independent of the King; in requital for all those mighty Concessions, they could not be prevail'd with to grant Tonnage and Poundage to his Majesty for above two Months at a time; so that his Majesty was to remain ever dependent on them for the necessary Support of his Household. And in this Bill he is also made to yield up all the Right he and his Ancestors had ever claim'd to these Duties, or any other impos'd by the Crown on Goods imported or exported.

Next they proceeded to impeach his Judges, and erected a Committee to receive Complaints against any other Officers and Ministers of Justice; by which they kept the King's Friends under the great-

est Terror. And the King having determined to go into *Scotland*, hoping to find better Usage in his Native Kingdom, this sanctify'd House of Commons, these zealous Keepers of the *Sabbath*, prevail'd with the House of Lords to sit all *Sunday*, in order to find out means to prevent his Journey, which they apprehended might defeat some of their Projects. At length they did vouchsafe to let his Majesty go; but they first prevail'd with him to sign a Commission to some Lords to pass Bills in his Absence, and sent a Committee along with him to be Spies upon his Actions. And after he was gone, they rais'd a Guard to secure them against Fears and Jealousies of their own creating.

The King found his Parliament of *Scotland* not a whit less assuming than that of *England*, and was forc'd to pass all the Acts they brought him, for suppressing Episcopacy, and the Establishment of their Kirk. And in hopes to lay a further Obligation upon them, he preferr'd their leading Men to the principal Posts of the Kingdom: So that, as a reverend Historian observes, he perfectly surrendered that Kingdom to his greatest Enemies, which he could never have done so effectually without going thither.

When the King was reduc'd to this low Condition in *England* and *Scotland*, there happened a terrible Massacre of the Protestants in *Ireland*. Whereupon the King wrote from *Scotland* to the two Houses at *Westminster*, to acquaint them that he was satisfy'd this was no rash Insurrection, but a form'd Rebellion, which must be suppress'd by a declared War, the Management of which he left to their Care and Wisdom. But notwithstanding the King's Care in this Matter, some of their Managers had the Impudence to suggest, that this Rebellion in *Ireland* was contrived and fomented by the

the King; which Calumny, tho' without any Foundation, made a great Impression upon the Minds of the Vulgar.

The *Irish* Rebels indeed did pretend a Commission under the Great Seal, dated at *Edinburgh* October 1, 1641; but the Lords Justices and Council in *Ireland* protested against the Calumny, and the Truth was afterwards confessed by some of the Rebels, viz. that they had forged a Commission, and affix'd a Broad-Seal to it, which they had taken from an old Patent.

The King returning from *Scotland*, was very joyfully receiv'd, and entertain'd by the City of *London*, which, after the barbarous Usage he had receiv'd from his Parliaments of both Kingdoms, was some Relief to him; and he expressed great Satisfaction at this Appearance of returning Duty, tho' it was but of very short Continuance. And indeed we have many Instances of populous Cities *Hosannas* their Princes one Day, and crying out to crucify them the next; They seldom make use of their own Reason and Reflection, but are whistled this way or that way, as their crafty Leaders are dispos'd to play 'em. When the King came to the Parliament, and found them surrounded by their Guards, he would have dismiss'd their Troops; telling them, that the keeping of a Guard about the Houses must necessarily give strange Apprehensions and Jealousies to his People. But they having rais'd them for this very Reason, insisted on the continuing of them, and to have the Earl of *Essex*, a General of their own Nomination, to command them. And having thus render'd themselves formidable to his Majesty, and his loyal Subjects, they attended him with one insolent Remonstrance after another; and they compelled him to displace Colonel *Lunsford*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and many other

of his Officers, because they could not confide in them.

The King finding he should never come to any good Understanding with the Parliament, so long as so many seditious and traiterous Members sat amongst them, whom he now plainly saw aim'd at nothing less than the Destruction of himself, and the Constitution both in Church and State, order'd the Attorney-General to prosecute five of the chief of them for High-Treason, and sent a Sergeant at Arms to the House of Commons to demand them, and arrest them for High-Treason. But the Commons voted that those Members should stand upon their Defence, and resolv'd to afford them their Protection. The King thereupon went to the House of Commons to demand the five Members in Person; but they were retreated to their Friends in the City.

The Commons met the next Day, and voted this Action of the King's a high Breach of Privilege; and that they could no longer sit there in Security, till they had rais'd a stronger Guard for their Defence; and then adjourned for seven Days, and order'd a Committee to sit at *Guild-Hall* to consider of the important Affairs of the Kingdom.

The King publishing a Proclamation for apprehending the criminal Members, the City had recourse to Arms to defend them, and their Mobs began to grow very formidable. Whereupon his Majesty went into the City, attended only with three or four Lords; and the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen being assembled, he told them that he was sorry to observe those Tumults, and hop'd they would not harbour those Members that were charg'd with High-Treason, whom he design'd to proceed against in a legal Way; and therefore there was no manner of Reason to entertain any Apprehensions
of

of Danger. But as he returned from the City, they followed him, crying out, *Privilege of Parliament; To your Tents, O Israel, &c.* and some said, the King was not fit to live. And having raised and armed a numerous Mob, that march'd to *Whitehall* and *Westminster*, and insulted his Majesty in his own Palace, and sufficiently terrify'd his Friends and Adherents, the King thought fit to remove with his Court to *Hampton-Court*; and the Citizens, in a hostile manner, with great Guns, and other warlike Instruments, carried the criminal Members in great Triumph to *Westminster*, and restor'd them to their Seats in the House of Commons. The Commons proceeded to displace Sir *John Biron*, Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and put in a Creature of their own; to raise the Militia, and other Troops, by their own Authority; and to issue Declarations and Orders, wherein they plainly denounced War against all who should adhere to his Majesty, or stand up in Defence of the Constitution. Thus did they raise Armies, seize his Majesty's Forts and Magazines, and wrest the Militia and the Royal Navy out of his Hands, before the King had made any Preparations for his Defence: And yet their Friends at this Day have the Impudence to affirm, that the King began the War; though why they should endeavour to deprive their Forefathers of the Honour of this Insurrection, when at other times they glory in the Privilege of calling their Princes to an Account, and of judging and dethroning them at their Pleasure, I can't conceive. But 'tis plain to a Demonstration, that if the King had had any Thoughts of using Force, he would never have suffer'd the Army to have been disbanded that was rais'd against the *Scots*, or have given up his faithful Friends and Ministers to be ruin'd by the Commons: Nothing but the Dread he had of the Calamities of a Civil

War, could have induc'd him to these Compliances. But how was he mistaken, when he imagined any less Sacrifice would appease them, than that of his own, and his loyal Subjects Blood, who were for maintaining the Constitution!

The King being driven from *London*, went towards the North; and coming to his Garrison of *Hull* in *Yorkshire*, the Gates were shut against him by Sir *John Hotham*, whom the Parliament had sent down to take Possession of that Fortrefs for them.

And now the King was too late convinced it was necessary to raise Forces for the Defence of himself and his Friends; for the Parliament had possess'd themselves of the Royal Navy, the Militia, the King's Magazines and Revenues, and all the principal Forts in the Kingdom, before his Majesty had rais'd so much as a Guard for his Person.

I shall not run through the several Actions in this Civil War; only observe, that notwithstanding all the above-mention'd Advantages of the Commons in the beginning of the War, and though they had the Wealth and Power of the City of *London* on their Side, the King was so well beloved, and so effectually assisted by his Subjects, that the Rebels were in a fair way of being reduc'd, if their Brethren the *Scots* had not come a second time into *England* to their Assistance; which ended in the Destruction of their own Nation, as well as this, being afterwards both brought under *Cromwell's* Iron Yoke.

In the Year 1646, when the King was no longer able to keep the Field, it seems he chose rather to trust himself in the Hands of his Countrymen the *Scots*, than the *English*: But the mercenary Wretches either did not understand, or value the Honour the
King

King had done them ; but sold, or rather gave up their King to the *English* Rebels, in Consideration of part of the Arrears due to them for their Villany, amounting to about 400,000 l.

The Parliament, as they were call'd, imprison'd the King at *Holmby*-House, keeping him under a very strict Restraint, and impos'd their own Presbyterian Chaplains upon him ; but the King would never give them so much Countenance, as to be present at any of their Preachments.

The Parliament and Army having no good Understanding at this time, *Cromwell* sent a Detachment of his Troops to *Holmby* the 4th of *June* 1647, and took the King out of their Hands by Force ; and having brought him to *New-Market*, where the Army lay at that time, he afterwards permitted him to reside at his Palace at *Hampton-Court*, as a Prisoner at large ; and his Servants and Chaplains were allowed to attend in their Places, and the Nobility and Gentry to resort to him ; and he was permitted to see his Children, who were then at *Sion*-House.

While the King was at *Hampton-Court*, a Treaty was set on Foot between him and the Parliament : But the King finding that nothing less would satisfy them, than the Destruction of the Constitution ; and being given to understand there was a Design on foot to assassinate him, he made his Escape from *Hampton-Court* the 11th of *November*, 1647 ; and coming to the *Isle of Wight*, he was there perfidiously detain'd by *Hammond* the Governor, contrary to his Promise, and the Parliament immediately acquainted where he was.

Here the *Scots*, as well as the *English*, enter'd into another Treaty with the King ; and many Concessions they extorted from him, to the Prejudice both of Church and State ; but the Army once more seiz'd the King's Person, and put an End to all Treaties.

The erecting a High Court of Justice afterwards; the condemning and executing the King as a Traitor to his own Subjects, are Facts so well remember'd at this Day, that I shall forbear to repeat them, and proceed to examine this Prince's Character from the preceding Facts.

A Review of
the Cha-
racter of
K. Charles I.

My Lord Clarendon, in the Character he has given us of this Prince, has said nothing in Defence of those many extraordinary ways that were taken in this Reign to levy Money upon the Subject without Consent of Parliament, and some other unusual Stretches of the Prerogative; unless it be where he says, *The King was so great a Lover of Justice, that no Temptation could dispose him to a wrongful Action, except it was so disguised to him, that he believed it to be just.*

How these Matters were disguised, or represented to his Majesty, is not easy for us to discover so long after: But it must be acknowledged, that the raising Money by way of Loan, as 'tis called, that is, by requiring such a certain Sum of every Man, and, upon failure of paying it, imprisoning, or pressing the Refusers for Soldiers; the compelling Persons of 40 *l. per Annum* to be Knighted, or pay a Fine; the granting Patents for Monopolies, &c. are such Acts of State, as nothing but absolute Necessity, nothing but the Prevention of greater Evils can justify.

The Question therefore is, whether the King was under any such Necessity. It is true, the Kingdom was engaged in an offensive War with the Emperor and Spain, by the particular Desire, and unanimous Advice of both Houses of Parliament in the last Reign; but the first Parliament in this either did not approve of the War, or the Management of it; and therefore would not raise Supplies sufficient to support it. I make no Question but the Ministry

try advis'd the King, that the Honour and Interest of his Kingdoms were so concerned in this War, that the Commons having refus'd to grant him Supplies, he might legally have recourse to the extraordinary Methods above-mentioned. And had it been a defensive War, had the Kingdom been threaten'd with an Invasion, or some formidable Insurrection, no reasonable Man would have made any Doubt, but if the Commons, out of a peevish or obstinate Humour, had neglected their Defence, the King might have commanded both the Persons and the Goods of any private Subject, to have prevented the Destruction of the whole. It is not denied at this Day, but the King, in case of an Invasion, may lay an Embargo upon Merchant Ships, take their Men out of them, and command their Service in his Ships of War; that he may raise Bulwarks and Fortifications, in case of a Descent threaten'd, upon any Man's Land; drive off their Cattle, destroy their Corn, &c. to distress the Enemy. But where the Nation is engaged in an offensive War, the Case seems to be very much altered.

'Tis true, the young King had all the Provocations that a Prince could meet with: He was not only refus'd Supplies for the War; but the Revenue of Tonnage and Poundage, which his Ancestors had long enjoyed, and without which 'twas impossible he could subsist, was denied him. The Commons petitioned for Fafts, and pretended to be under great Apprehensions of Popery from his Administration, before he had been four Months upon the Throne. They attack'd his prime Minister the Duke of *Bucks*, who but in the preceding Parliament had been look'd upon as the Saviour of the Nation; and nothing but his Ruin could satisfy them, tho' the King assured them, of his own personal

sonal Knowledge, he was innocent of what they laid to his Charge.

The King having try'd three Parliaments successively, and finding the same obstinate perverse Disposition in them all, was so incens'd, that he imprison'd several of their Members, and discontinued those great Councils for about twelve Years; and in the mean time, by Loans, Ship-money, and other extraordinary Taxes, which his Judges resolv'd were *legal*, because *necessary*, he provided for the Support of his Government.

In the mean time, those who were oppress'd by those illegal Exactions, joining with those who were disaffected to the Government in Church and State, both in *England* and *Scotland*, form'd such a Faction, that when the Necessity of the King's Affairs compelled him to call a Parliament, in the Year 1640, it was apparent that nothing less than a Subversion of the Constitution would satisfy them; or at least their Leaders, at whose Devotion a Majority of the Houses usually are.

Now, though it be admitted, that for the maintaining of an Offensive War, the raising Money out of Parliament is not justifiable, yet when the King was denied even the usual Revenue, that was absolutely necessary for the Support of the Government, whether he was not excusable in the taking *that at least*, without Consent of Parliament, may be more difficult to resolve, especially since every Prince at his Accession does take it, 'till it is confirm'd to him by an Act of Parliament.

It will be said by some, that in this Case the King ought to have given up the Duke of *Bucks*, and the rest of his obnoxious Ministers, and he might have been legally supplied. But to this it may

may be answered, that such Concessions will not always produce such Effects. And besides, when a Prince is satisfied of the Fidelity and Innocence of his Minister, what can be more barbarous and unjust than to deliver him up to the Rage of his Enemies? If nothing else will satisfy the People, a Prince ought to run all Hazards, rather than comply with the Demand.

But if neither the King's acting by the Advice of his Council, and the unanimous Opinion of his Judges; if neither the Forwardness of the Commons, nor the Necessity of his Affairs, will be admitted as an Excuse for those extraordinary Levies in the Beginning of his Reign; yet his future Conduct sufficiently atones for it, and leaves his seditious Subjects without Excuse: For when they rais'd their Mobs, and seiz'd his Forts, Magazines, and Ships of War, what was there the two Houses could ask that he had not granted? And what cannot be said to his Honour, tho' it leaves *them* without the least Shadow of Excuse, what Minister was there he had not surrender'd to their Mercy?

Against the Parliament therefore he will certainly be acquitted by all future Ages; they will never look upon him as the Occasion of their Rebellion: He had done too much to satisfy them, so much, that it is by far the most difficult Part of his Conduct to defend. What can be said for his passing the Bill of Attainder against the Lord *Strafford*, when he himself had declared him innocent? What a detested Doctrine is that, that distinguishes between a publick and a private Conscience? that a Prince may sacrifice an innocent Subject to save a wicked State? that he should prefer the Judgment of a prejudic'd Parliament to his own certain Knowledge? This is not to be excus'd, or aton'd for,
but

but by such a severe Repentance as it afterwards occasion'd in the Royal Penitent. But had the King been perfect in every Instance, he had been more than Man.

There remains another Part of this Prince's Conduct, which is equally exclaim'd against, but is much more capable of a Defence; and that is, those destructive Concessions he made both to the *English* and *Scots* Rebels in the several Treaties he had with them when he was their Prisoner; particularly his consenting to abolish Episcopacy in *Scotland*, and establishing Presbytery there, and in *England* too for three Years at least; and his giving up all his faithful Friends and Followers to the Mercy of their Enemies, stipulating only for their Lives. These Facts, when I first read them, did, I must confess, abate something of that Opinion I had entertain'd for this great Prince, 'till I had examin'd into the Reasons of these Concessions. And first then it is observable, that the King never gave up any Point, 'till he had defended it with the utmost Skill, and urg'd all Arguments that could possibly be offered for it. In the next Place, it was at the Instance of the Clergy, and his Friends themselves, who were most nearly concern'd in the Event, that he gave up these Points. And the Arguments they us'd, were no doubt such as these: Your Majesty, and your faithful Followers, as well as the Church of *England*, are at this time in the greatest Distress; nor is there any Expectation things should alter for the better, while your Enemies are vested with sovereign Power, and your Majesty remains a Prisoner. Let us but see your Majesty upon the Throne, the Rebels Army disbanded, and a free Parliament called, the People are by this time so fully convinc'd of the destructive Principles of your Adversaries, that they will be glad to restore the

*

antient

ancient Constitution, and your Majesty to your legal Rights.

They might urge farther, that such Conditions as are extorted from a Prince by Force of Arms, and when he is under a Restraint, are not accounted obligatory: Nay, that it was not in his Majesty's Power, out of Parliament, to alter the Constitution in Church or State, or give up his own or his Subjects legal Rights: And that even an Act, formally pass'd by the present Assembly of Men, who gave themselves the Name of a Parliament, but had actually excluded one of the three Estates, and a great Majority of the Members of both Houses afterwards, could never obtain the Force of a Law. And as it was observ'd before, if the Nation ever come to another free Election, and both Houses are duly fill'd, your Majesty, your loyal Subjects, and the Constitution both in Church and State, will be in much less Danger than they are at present. And therefore, upon these Considerations, we beg your Majesty to comply with their Demands, however unjust and extravagant they may appear: We, that are the most interested in the Matter, will gladly acquit your Majesty of all the seeming ill Consequences of these Concessions. It is very natural to believe, his Majesty was prevail'd on by some such Arguments as these, to submit to many things, contrary to his own Reason and Judgment: And upon the like Considerations, I make no question but future Ages will be inclin'd to acquit this Prince of any Intention to give up, or alter the Constitution in Church or State; and it will be universally acknowledged, he had no Power to do either in the Circumstances he was.

And no doubt 'twas such Reflections as these, that induc'd the Rebels to enter upon the last horrid Fact, and to murder as well as dethrone their Prince.

Prince. They knew that a Majority of the Kingdom were well inclin'd to the old Constitution, though they were at present kept in Awe by a Body of veteran Troops; that their hypocritical Arts and Pretences were now sufficiently manifested to all the World; and if a free Parliament were ever suffered to assemble, it would certainly destroy all their hopeful Schemes, and rescind and avoid those pernicious Grants they had extorted from the King. Rightly concluding therefore, that they cou'd receive no Security from any Treaties, they broke them off, and proceeded to arraign, condemn, and execute their King, and Monarchy with him, making it High Treason for any one to attempt the Restoration, either of the Royal Family, or the Constitution.

And now, if I have contributed any thing towards the clearing up this Prince's Character, in such Instances as seem'd most liable to Exception, or given such Hints as may induce others to attempt it, who are better qualified for such an Undertaking, I shall hope to have perform'd an acceptable Piece of Service, in the Opinion of those, at least, who have a just Respect for the Memory of King *Charles I.*

My Lord *Clarendon* has dwelt on the bright Side of this Prince's Character, and left little to be added on that Head. Had he taken equal Pains to defend the more exceptionable Part of his Conduct, the Character had been compleat. And surely the defending the weakest Part of a Town, and that which lies most exposed to the Enemy's Attacks, requires some Pains; the more beautiful and impregnable Parts of the Fortrefs in a great measure defend themselves. It is Pity therefore that the same masterly Hand, that has drawn the one, has not attempted the other.

King CHARLES I.

381

As to the King's military Virtues, his Courage and Conduct in the War, &c. his Enemies have sufficiently declared them, in the Evidence they prepar'd against him, if he had submitted to a Tryal. And while he was their Prisoner, and in a State of the greatest Affliction, his Virtues shin'd with that uncommon Lustre, that the Rebels were compelled to acknowledge them, and that they had been infinitely deceived in those Representations that had been made of him. His Piety, his Patience, his Fortitude, his Parts and Learning, his Knowledge in Divinity, and the controverted Points of Religion, were the Subject of their Admiration.

And at his Arraignment before his impious Judges, and in the last tragick Scene, when he was brought like a Malefactor to the Block, such was his Presence of Mind, such his serene and compos'd Behaviour, such was his heroick and christian Courage, his Resignation and Charity for all Mankind, that he has most justly acquired the Title of **THE ROYAL MARTYR.**



CHARLES



CHARLES II.

1648.
49.



CHARLES II. the eldest surviving Son of King *Charles I.* by *Henrietta Maria* his Queen, youngest Daughter of the French King *Henry IV.* succeeded to his Father's Title the 30th of *January*, 1648; but was kept out of the Exercise of the Government for twelve Years, by that rebellious Faction that depos'd and murder'd his Royal Father.

And this leads me to give some Account of the various Forms of Government under the several Usurpers, from the Death of King *Charles I.* to the Time of King *Charles* the Second's entring upon the actual Exercise of the Government in 1660, containing the Space of eleven Years, and some odd Months.

The Kingdom under the Government of the Usurpers.

The King being murdered, that little Assembly or Remnant of a House of Commons, who pass'd the Ordinance for arraigning and trying his late Majesty, having re-admitted such of their excluded Members as they thought would join with them in their future Projects, *Resolved*, That the House of Peers in Parliament was useless and dangerous, and pass'd an Ordinance for abolishing them. They also *Resolved*, That it had been found by Experience, that the Office of a King in this Nation, or to have the Power thereof in any single Person, was unnecessary.

cessary, burthenfome, and dangerous to the Liberty and Safety, and publick Interest of the Nation; and therefore pass'd another Ordinance for abolishing it. They also made a new Great Seal, and enacted, That no Process should afterwards issue in the King's Name, but in the Name of the Commonwealth, declaring that the People were, under God, the Original of all just Power: And that they, the Commons of *England*, being chosen by, and representing the People, were the Supreme Power of the Nation.

They also pass'd an Ordinance, that all Money to be coined, instead of the Royal Stamp, should bear the Impression of the Cross and Harp, with this Motto, *God with us*. Then they erected a Council of State, consisting of about forty Persons, to whom they committed the Care of the Militia and the Navy. And they fram'd a new Oath for their Subjects, or rather Slaves, called the Engagement; whereby every Person admitted to any Office or Place in Church or State, was to swear, *That he would be true and faithful to the Government, without King, or House of Peers*. Thus was the ancient Constitution entirely altered: And this Remnant of a House of Commons, not consisting of above a fifth Part of the usual Number, being supported by the Army, assumed to themselves both the Legislative and Executive Power. And instead of the ancient Methods of Trial by Juries, they erected High Courts of Justice, consisting of their own Creatures, by whom they generally try'd those who resisted their mock Authority.

Under the Tyranny of these Men, in Appearance, (but really under the Dominion of *Cromwell*;) the People continued upwards of five Years; viz. till the Year 1653, when *Cromwell* with an armed Force drove them out of the House of Commons; his Of-

ficers declaring that the Government was devolved upon him their General.

Cromwell, after this, summon'd an Assembly of Men of his own Nomination, most of them illiterate Enthusiasts, from the several Counties of *England*, to the number of about one hundred and forty Persons; and these he was pleas'd to call a Parliament, and invest them with the Supreme Authority. This Assembly, or Convention, which obtain'd the Name of *Barebones's* Parliament, from one *Barebones* a Leatherfeller, who was one of the principal Speakers, finding themselves very unequal to the Burthen *Cromwell* had thrown upon them, and having render'd themselves exceeding ridiculous to the Nation, made a formal Surrender of their Power to their Creator *Cromwell*, within a few Months after they received it. And he having again accepted it, with abundance of seeming Reluctance and Humility, took upon him the Title of *Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging*.

At his taking on him the Protectorship, he sign'd a Parchment, called, *The Instrument of Government*; whereby he engaged to call a Parliament once in every three Years, which was to consist of about four hundred Men, besides those out of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, (the first of which Assemblies was to meet on the third Day of *September*, 1654.) And he engaged not to dissolve any such Parliament, once met, till they had sat five Months: That such Bills as should be presented to him by the Parliament, if they should not be confirmed by him within twenty Days, should pass without him into Laws: That he should have a select *Council* to assist him, which should not exceed twenty one, nor be less than thirteen: That immediately after his Death the *Council* should chuse another *Protector* before they

rose: That no *Protector* after him should be General of the Army: That the *Protector* should have Power to make Peace or War: And further, with the Consent of his Council, he should make Laws, which should be binding during the Intervals of Parliament. While this was reading, *Cromwell* had his Hand upon the Bible; and when read, he took this Oath: *That he would not violate any thing contained in that Instrument of Government, but would observe, and cause the same to be observed, and in all things govern the Nation according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs, seeking Peace, and causing Justice and Law to be equally administer'd.*

After this, the Protector made an Order in Council for the Union of the three Kingdoms, and directed that *Scotland* and *Ireland* should each of them send thirty Members to the Parliament of *England*, and summon'd a Parliament to meet upon the third of *September*, 1654, being *Sunday*. There were about four hundred *English* Members in this Convention; and the Counties were required to send more, and the Corporations a lesser Number than they had us'd. Those from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, were of his own Nomination; and the Trials of Elections in all the three Kingdoms were by a Committee of his own Privy Council.

But notwithstanding all the cautious Methods he had taken to secure a Convention for his turn, they were no sooner assembled, but they begun to enquire into the Legality of his Proceedings, and pass such Votes for the Limitation of his Power, that he found himself under a Necessity of dissolving them as soon as their five Months were expir'd.

Having such ill Success with his Parliament, he divided the Kingdom into twelve Provinces, over every one of which he placed an Officer, with an almost unlimited Power, whom he called a Major-

General. By these he committed such Persons to Prison as he suspected, and levied Money from time to time, as the Exigency of his Government required.

Thus did *Cromwell* govern the Kingdom more absolutely than any of its lawful Princes had done before him. He only wanted the Name of King to satisfy his Ambition: And this he was in great Hopes the Nation would compliment him with, if he called another Parliament. Accordingly he summoned another Assembly to meet him at *Westminster* the 17th of *September* 1656, but suffered none to enter the House who were not approv'd by his Council; and by this means excluded about an hundred, whom he thought not very favourable to his Designs.

This Assembly thus modell'd, pass'd and Ordinance, making it High-Treason to compass or imagine the Protector's Death, rais'd Money for the Payment of his Troops, and settled on him the Revenue arising by Tonnage and Poundage for Life (which was refus'd King *Charles I.*)

But when the main Point of giving him the Title of King was moved in the House, it met with a colder Reception than he expected: And though his Party carried it so far, as to make him a formal Offer of the Crown; yet he found it gave such a general Disgust to his Friends, that he thought it prudent to decline it, and content himself with his former Title of Protector. Yet to satisfy his Vanity a little, he caused himself to be more solemnly inaugurated into his Office of Protector in *Westminster-Hall*, where the Ceremony was performed with as great Pomp as is used at the Coronation of our Kings. And that his Government might the more nearly resemble that of the Kings of *England*, he thought fit to institute a House of Lords, consisting

sisting of sixty Persons, of which seven were of the ancient Nobility, twenty three of them Gentlemen, the rest Men of obscure Parentage and mean Occupations, who had rais'd themselves in the Wars. And these were summoned by Writ, in much the same manner as the Peers were anciently summon'd to the House of Lords.

The upper House being thus filled, the Protector did not meet the Commons in the Painted Chamber as heretofore; but went to the House of Lords, and sent the Black Rod to the Commons, commanding them to attend him there, according to the Practice of our Kings. The Protector himself, and his Lord Keeper *Fiennes*, having made Speeches in Commendation of this ancient Form of Government, the Commons were dismiss'd: But they were no sooner return'd to their own House, than they shew'd their Resentment at the Protector's having instituted another Assembly of Men to be a Check, and in some respects to be superior to them. They immediately admitted all those Members which *Cromwell* had excluded, as not being well affected to him, question'd his Authority in creating Peers, and were about to unravel all his Schemes. Whereupon *Cromwell* came again to the House of Lords, and having sent for the Commons, severely reprehended their Presumption; told them, that the upper House, notwithstanding their Opposition, were Lords, and should continue Lords; concluding his Speech in these Words; *By the living God I do, and must dissolve you.* This was his third and last Assembly, call'd a Parliament; and thus were they dissolved, having continued together about fifteen Days after the assembling of the upper House.

Thus have we seen even *Cromwell* himself, who destroyed our ancient Form of Government, approving it as the best and noblest that was ever constituted.

ted. He seems to prefer it even to absolute Power, and to acknowledge it to be conducing as well to the Safety and Grandeur of the Sovereign, as to the securing the Liberties and Properties of the People. Nor can we form an Idea of any thing more august, than a *British* Monarch at the Head of his three Estates assembled in Parliament.

And possibly *Cromwell's* Passion for the Title of King, and restoring the ancient Form of Government, did not proceed more from his Ambition to establish the Kingdom in his Family, than to disburthen himself of those Cares and Fears that were become his constant Attendants. He knew he should thereby have avoided much of that Odium he acquired by acting in a despotick way; Taxes would have been much easier born, when given by the Representatives of the People; and every Enterprize begun by their Advice, would not have fail'd of the People's ready Concurrence. His Armour had been useless; he might have slept securely, had his Authority been countenanc'd by his two Houses: Then he had cast the Odium of every destructive Scheme upon the Parliament, which he himself had fram'd. This is an Art some Modern Ministers excel in: 'Tis thus they skreen themselves from popular Rage and Discontents, by introducing every Project in a Parliamentary way. To return: *Cromwell*, thus unwillingly condemned to exercise an arbitrary Rule, spent the few Months he had to live in perpetual Horror and Anxiety; like *Cain*, he dreaded every Eye that saw him. The Royalists, he knew, justly conspired his Ruin; and those who had rais'd him to that Power, the Levellers and Commonwealths Men, he feared much more, as they had it much more in their Power to annoy him. He was daily exercis'd with Plots against his Person and Government; and yet from these numerous

rous Conspiracies, as well as former Hazards, did Providence think fit to guard the Tyrant, and take off this Destroyer of his Country, at last, in the ordinary way of Sickneſs. He died in his Bed, even in that very Palace where he had murdered his Royal Maſter, on the 3d of *September* 1658.

Upon the Death of *Cromwell*, his eldeſt Son *Richard* was proclaim'd Protector by his late Father's Privy-Council, the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and ſeveral of the Officers of the Army, and Gentlemen, aſſiſting.

Richard's
Government.

The foreign Miniſters had their Audiencies of Condolence and Congratulation; and Addreſſes came from the Army, and from all Parts of *England*, teſtifying their Joy at his Acceſſion, and promiſing to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.

Richard having call'd a Parliament, to meet the 27th of *January*, recommended his Affairs at home and abroad to their Conſideration; but ſo exaſperated were the Commons at the new-created Houſe of Peers, that they reſuſed to paſs an Act recognizing *Richard* for their Protector, and fell into ſuch Heats, that he was compell'd to diſſolve them. 386,7

From this Diſſolution is dated the End of *Richard's* Government; for he was never apply'd to or mention'd afterwards. He bore the Name of Protector ſeven Months and about twenty Days; after which there was a kind of *Inter-regnum* for twelve Days, when the Officers of the Army thought fit to reſtore the Rump Parliament, that is, ſo many of the Members of the Long Parliament, as they thought would be for their turn, and be govern'd by them. Theſe met the 17th of *May* as a Houſe; the reſt they excluded by Force: And wanting two of their intended Number, they fetch'd two out of Jail to make up their Compliment. Rump-Parliament.

Committee
of Safety.

Monck.

The 13th of *October*, *Lambert* and the Officers of the Army turn'd the Rump out of Doors again; whereupon there happen'd another *Inter-regnum* of about thirteen Days, when the Army set up a *Committee of Safety*, as 'twas called, consisting of twenty three Persons, most of them Officers. This Committee reign'd about two Months; when the People being weary of them, the Rump resum'd their Power again about the latter end of *December*. In *February* following, *Monck* marched with his Army out of *Scotland* to the City of *London*, and restor'd the secluded Members. In this Assembly *Monck* procur'd an Ordinance to pass the 16th of *March* for their own Dissolution; and Writs were issued out, in the Name of *The Keepers of the Liberties of England*, for calling a new Parliament, to meet the 25th of *April*; and in the mean time the Administration of the Government was lodg'd in a Committee or Council of State.

The Restora-
tion, 1660.

The Parliament (or rather Convention) being assembled the 15th of *April* 1660, Sir *John Greenville* attended them with his Majesty's Letters from *Breda*, inviting them to return to their Allegiance: Whereupon both Houses voted, *That according to the ancient and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons*. They also drew up very dutiful Letters to the King, desiring his speedy Return to his People, and his Kingly Office; on the eighth of *May* caus'd his Majesty to be proclaim'd: From which time King *Charles II.* may be look'd upon to be in the actual Exercise of the Government of these Kingdoms. And here I shall insert the Character of King *Charles II.* as Mr. *Echard* has given it us from three several Hands, Dr. *Charleton*, Sir *William Temple*, and the Earl of *Mulgrave*.

CHARACTER

CHARACTER of King CHARLES II.
From Dr. Charleton.

“ HIS Majesty was now [at the Restoration] “ just thirty Years of Age, somewhat taller
 “ than the middle Stature of *Englishmen*; so exactly
 “ formed, that the most curious Eye could find no
 “ Error in his Shape. His Countenance was rather
 “ grave than severe, but much softned whenever he
 “ spoke: His Complexion somewhat dark, but high-
 “ ly enlightened by his quick and sparkling Eyes.
 “ The Figure of his Face was very lovely till
 “ near twenty Years of Age; but after that, grow-
 “ ing leaner, the Majesty of his Looks happily
 “ supplied the Lines of Beauty, which was very
 “ much set off by plentiful Ornaments of shining
 “ black Hair. His Motions were so easy and grace-
 “ ful, that they highly recommended his Person to
 “ all Strangers, whether he walk’d, or danc’d, or
 “ play’d at Tennis, or rode the great Horse, which
 “ were his usual Exercises. In sum, his Mien
 “ fully denoted his Quality; and wheresoever he
 “ appeared, he immediately obtained the Respect
 “ and Affections of all that approached him; for
 “ all his Looks and Actions helped to display the
 “ Beauties of his Mind, a vivacious Wit, a deli-
 “ cate Apprehension, and an excellent Understand-
 “ ing. These natural Endowments were highly
 “ improved, not only by his own uncommon In-
 “ dustry, but by a numerous Train of Accidents
 “ usually unknown to other Princes: So that, be-
 “ sides his great Skill in modern Languages, Hi-
 “ story, Mathematicks, Navigation, &c. his Mind
 “ was adorned with such Virtues, as might, if con-
 “ tinued, have proved a perpetual Source of Hap-
 piness

Character of
K. Charles II.
From Dr.
Charleton.

" piness to himself and Kingdom; as Justice, For-
 " titude, Clemency, Temperance, and Sobriety.
 " The two last were conspicuous at this time.
 " Oaths and Drunkenness were Strangers to him;
 " and though he cannot be cleared of another Vice,
 " of which the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother was
 " not the only Instance, yet the former part of his
 " Life ought by no means to be compared to the
 " latter. And it is observed by a good Hand, that
 " for many Years before his Return he had been so
 " chaste or cautious, that those about him could
 " hear no Whisper of any indecent Gallantry. In
 " general, he had learnt so much Experience from
 " the Variety of his Father's Fortunes, from the
 " Opposition of his Enemies, the Treachery of
 " his seeming Friends, and the frequent Necessity
 " of treating with all Parties in Person, that it
 " might justly be said of him, as it was of his Grand-
 " father of *France*, *He that would corrupt his Council*
 " *must first begin with the King.*

CHARACTER of King CHARLES II.
 From Sir William Temple.

Character of
 K. Charles II.
 From Sir
 William Tem-
 ple.

" HIS Majesty himself took more Pains to en-
 " joy a quiet and undisturbed Life, than
 " some have done to ruin the Peace of whole King-
 " doms; which made him too liable to be led by
 " such as pretended to the peculiar Art of Reliev-
 " ing, as a great Man observes. From his own na-
 " tural Disposition he desired nothing but to be easy
 " himself, and that every Body else should be so;
 " and would have been glad to see the least of his
 " Subjects pleased, and to refuse no Man what he
 " asked. But this Softness of Temper made him
 " apt to fall into the Persuasions of whoever had
 " his

" his Kindness and Confidence for the Time, how
 " different soever from the Opinions he was of be-
 " fore; and he was very easy to change his Hands,
 " when those he employed had engaged him in any
 " Difficulties; so as nothing looked steady in the
 " Conduct of his Affairs, nor appeared to aim at
 " any certain End. Yet sure no Prince had more
 " Qualities to make him loved, with a great many
 " to make him esteemed, and all without a Grain
 " of Pride or Vanity in his whole Constitution;
 " nor could he suffer Flattery in any kind, grow-
 " ing uneasy upon the first Approaches of it, and
 " diverting it to some other Subject; a thing re-
 " markable in Princes. Where he was pleased to
 " be familiar, he shewed great Quickness of Con-
 " ception, Pleasantness of Wit, with Variety of
 " Knowledge, and more Observation, and a truer
 " Judgment of Men, than could be imagined from
 " so careless and easy a manner, as was natural to
 " him in all he said or did. But having abandoned
 " himself to Pleasures, this Humour made him lose
 " many great Opportunities of Glory to himself, and
 " Greatness to his Crown. "

N. B. The Reader will observe, that the follow-
 ing Character of King *Charles the Second*, is very
 different from that in the first Edition of the
 Review, the Reason whereof is, that the Cha-
 racter in the former Edition was taken from Mr.
Echard's English History, which is there pre-
 tended to be transcrib'd from the Duke of *Bucks*;
 but the Author having since met with the Cha-
 racter in the Duke of *Buckingham's Works*, he
 finds Mr. *Echard* has done both King *Charles*
 and King *James* Injustice, by the many Altera-
 tions he has made in transcribing that Character,
 as the Reader will observe, if he compares the
 Character in *Echard*, and the underwritten Cha-
 racter together,

CHA-

CHARACTER of King CHARLES II.
From the Earl of Mulgrave.

Character of
K. Charles II.
From the
Earl of Mul-
grave.

“ I HAVE pitched on this Character of *Charles*
“ the Second, not for his being a King, or
“ my having had the Honour to serve him. The
“ first of these would be too vulgar a Considerati-
“ on, and the other too particular. But I think it
“ a Theme of great Variety; and whatever is want-
“ ing in the Writer, may, I hope, be recompensed
“ in the Agreeableness of the Subject; which is
“ sometimes enough to recommend a Picture, though
“ ill drawn, and to make a Face one likes oftner look-
“ ed on, than the best Piece of *Raphael*. To begin
“ then according to Custom with his Religion,
“ which since his Death hath made so much Noise
“ in the World, I yet dare confidently affirm it to
“ be only that which is vulgarly (though unjustly)
“ counted none at all, I mean *Deism*. And this un-
“ common Opinion he owed more to the Liveliness
“ of his Parts; and Carelessness of his Temper, than
“ either to Reading, or much Consideration; for
“ his Quickness of Apprehension, at first View,
“ could discern through the several Cheats of pious
“ Pretences; and his natural Laziness confirmed him
“ in an equal Mistrust of them all, for fear he should
“ be troubled with examining which Religion was
“ best. If in his early Travels, and late Admini-
“ stration, he seemed a little biaßed to one sort of
“ Religion, the first is only to be imputed to a cer-
“ tain Easiness of Temper, and a Complaisance for
“ that Company he was then forced to keep; and
“ the last was no more than his being tired, which
“ he soon was in any Difficulty, with those bold
“ Oppositions in Parliament; which made him al-
“ most

“ most throw himself into the Arms of a *Roman*
“ *Catholick* Party, so remarkable in *England* for
“ their Loyalty, who embraced him gladly, and
“ lulled him asleep with those enchanting Songs of
“ absolute Sovereignty, which the best and wisest
“ Princes are often unable to resist. And though
“ he engaged himself on that side more fully at a
“ Time when 'tis in vain, and too late to dissemble,
“ we ought less to wonder at it, than to consider
“ that our very Judgments are apt to grow in time
“ as partial as our Affections: And thus, by Acci-
“ dent only, he became of their Opinion in his
“ Weaknesses, who had so much endeavoured always
“ to contribute to his Power.

“ He loved Ease and Quiet; to which his unne-
“ cessary Wars are so far from being a Contradicti-
“ on, that they are rather a Proof of it; since they
“ were made chiefly to comply with those Persons,
“ whose Dissatisfaction would have proved more
“ uneasy to one of his Humour, than all that di-
“ stant Noise of Cannon, which he would often
“ listen to with a great deal of Tranquility. Besides,
“ the great, and almost only Pleasure of Mind he ap-
“ peared addicted to, was Shipping, and Sea-Af-
“ fairs; which seemed to be so much his Talent
“ both for Knowledge as well as Inclination, that
“ a War of that kind was rather an Entertainment,
“ than any Disturbance to his Thoughts. If he
“ did not go himself at the Head of so magnificent
“ a Fleet, 'tis only to be imputed to that Eagerness
“ of military Glory in his Brother; who, under the
“ Shew of a decent Care for preserving the Royal
“ Person from Danger, engrossed all that sort of
“ Honour to himself, with as much Jealousy of
“ any other's interposing in it, as a King of another
“ Temper would have had of his, though without
“ Reason; for never Heir behaved himself more sub-
“ missively

“missively than the Duke of York, to the last Mi-
 “nute of his Life. 'Tis certain, no Prince was
 “ever more fitted by Nature for his Country's
 “Interest, than he was in all his maritime Inclina-
 “tions; which might have proved of sufficient Ad-
 “vantage to this Nation, if he had been as careful
 “in depressing all such Improvements in *France*, as
 “of advancing and encouraging our own. But, it
 “seems, he wanted Jealousy in all his Inclinations;
 “which leads us to consider him in his Pleasures,
 “where he was rather abandoned than luxurious;
 “and, like our Female Libertines, apter to be de-
 “bauched for the Satisfaction of others, than to
 “seek with Choice where most to please himself.
 “I am of Opinion also, that in his latter Time
 “there was as much of Laziness, as of Love, in
 “all those Hours he passed among his Mistresses;
 “who after all, only served to fill up his Seraglio,
 “while a bewitching kind of Pleasure, called saun-
 “tring, and talking without any Constraint, was
 “the true *Sultana* Queen he delighted in.

“He was surely inclined to Justice; for nothing
 “else would have retained him so fast in the Suc-
 “cession of a Brother, against a Son he was so
 “fond of, and the Humour of a Party he so much
 “feared. I am willing also to impute to his Ju-
 “stice whatever seems in some Measure to contra-
 “dict the general Opinion of his Clemency, as
 “his suffering always the Rigour of the Law to
 “proceed, not only against all Highwaymen, but
 “also several others, in whose Cases the Lawyers,
 “according to their wonted Custom, had some-
 “times used a great deal of Hardship and Severity.
 “His Understanding was quick and lively in little
 “things, and sometimes would soar high enough
 “in great ones, but unable to keep it up with any
 “long Attention or Application. Witty in all

“sorts

“ sorts of Conversation, and telling a Story so
“ well, that, not out of Flattery, but for the
“ Pleasure of hearing it, we used to seem ignorant
“ of what he had repeated to us ten times before;
“ as a good Comedy will bear the being often seen;
“ Of a wonderful Mixture, losing all his time, and
“ till of late, setting his whole Heart on the Fair
“ Sex; yet neither angry with Rivals, nor in the
“ least nice as to their being beloved; and, while
“ he sacrificed all things to his Mistresses, he would
“ use to grudge, and be uneasy at their losing a
“ little of it again at play, though never so neces-
“ sary for their Diversion: Nor would he venture
“ five Pounds at Tennis to those Servants who
“ might obtain as many thousands, either before he
“ came thither, or as soon as he left off. Not false
“ to his Word, but full of Dissimulation, and ve-
“ ry adroit at it, yet no Man easier to be imposed
“ on; for his great Dexterity was in cozening him-
“ self, by gaining a little one way, while it cost
“ him ten times as much another; and by caressing
“ those Persons most, who had deluded him the
“ ofteneft: and yet the quickest in the World
“ at spying such a Ridicule in another. Familiar,
“ easy, and good natured; but for great Offences
“ severe and inflexible; also in one Week’s Absence
“ quite forgetting those Servants, to whose Faces
“ he could hardly deny any thing. In the midst
“ of all his Remissness, so industrious and indefati-
“ gable on some particular Occasions, that no Man
“ would either toil longer, or be able to manage it
“ better.

“ He was so liberal as to ruin his Affairs by it;
“ for Want in a King of *England* turns things just
“ upside down, and exposes a Prince to his Peo-
“ ple’s Mercy. It did yet worse in him; for it
“ forced him also to depend on his great Neigh-
“ bour

“bour of *France*, who played the Brother with
 “him sufficiently in all those Times of Extremity:
 “Yet this Profuseness of his did not so much pro-
 “ceed from his overvaluing those he favoured, as
 “from his undervaluing any Sums of Money which
 “he did not see; though he found his Error in
 “this; but, I confess, a little of the latest. He
 “had so natural an Aversion to all Formality,
 “that with as much Wit as most Kings ever had,
 “and with as majestick a Mien, yet he could not, on
 “Premeditation, act the part of a King for a
 “Moment, either at Parliament, or Council, either
 “in Words or Gesture; which carried him into
 “the other Extream, more inconvenient of the
 “two, of letting all Distinction and Ceremony fall
 “to the Ground, as useless and foppish. His
 “Temper both of Body and Mind was admirable,
 “which made him an easy generous Lover, a civil
 “obliging Husband, a friendly Brother, an indul-
 “gent Father, and a good natured Master. If he
 “had been as solicitous about improving the Fa-
 “culties of his Mind, as he was in the Manage-
 “ment of his bodily Health; though, alas! the
 “one proved unable to make his Life long, the
 “other had not failed to make it famous. He was
 “an illustrious Exception to all the common Rules
 “of Physiognomy; for, with a most saturnine,
 “harsh sort of Countenance, he was both of a
 “merry and merciful Disposition; and in the last
 “thirty Years of his Life as fortunate as those of
 “his Father had been dismal and tumultuous.
 “If his Death has been by some suspected of
 “being untimely, it may be imputed to his ex-
 “treme healthy Constitution; which made the
 “World as much surprized at his dying before
 “threescore, as if nothing but an ill Accident could
 “have killed him. I would not say any thing on

“ so sad a Subject, if I did not think Silence itself
 “ would, in such a Case, signify too much. And
 “ therefore, as an impartial Writer, I am obliged
 “ to observe, that the most knowing, and most
 “ deserving of all his Physicians, did not only be-
 “ lieve him poisoned, but thought himself so too,
 “ not long after, for having declared his Opinion
 “ a little too boldly. But here I must needs take
 “ Notice of an unusual Piece of Justice, which yet
 “ all the World has almost unanimously agreed in;
 “ I mean, in not suspecting his Successor of the
 “ least Connivance in so horrid a Villany: And
 “ perhaps there was never a more remarkable In-
 “ stance of the wonderful Power of Truth and In-
 “ nocence: For it’s next to a Miracle, that so un-
 “ fortunate a Prince, in the midst of all those Dis-
 “ advantages he lies under, should be yet cleared of
 “ this, even by his greatest Enemies, notwithstand-
 “ ing all those Circumstances that used to give a
 “ Suspicion, and that extreme Malice which has
 “ of late attended him in all his other Actions.

If we would frame any Opinion of the Conduct or Justice of the Administration in the Reign of King Charles II. it will be necessary to keep in our Eye his Declaration to the Convention from Breda.

A Review of
 the Reign of
 K. Charles II.

The King there declares, 1st, That he will pardon all Persons that shall not be excepted by the Convention.

2^{dly}, That he should leave his own and his Subjects Rights, whether publick or private, to be settled by the Convention.

3^{dly}, That he would grant Liberty of Conscience to all Men, who should not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and should be ready to consent to an Act for that Purpose.

In pursuance of this Declaration, an Act of Indemnity passed soon after the Restoration; wherein only the Regicides, with *Lambert*, and *Sir Henry Vane*, were excepted.

All Actions against Sequestrators, Plunderers, and those who had acted by Authority of the late usurped Powers, were superseded; and those who had taken the Goods and Chattels of the Royalists, and received the Rents, and mean Profits of their Lands and Estates, during the Usurpation, were confirmed in the Possession of their ill-gotten Goods, though the Lands themselves were permitted to return to their right Owners. So that the Royalists, upon the Restoration of the Royal Family, were by a Statute absolutely deprived of all Right to their whole personal Estates, and the Issues and Profits of their Lands, of which they had been before plundered and sequestered for their firm Adherence to the Crown.

As to that part of the Declaration relating to Liberty of Conscience, neither the Act of Indemnity, nor any other Act, takes any Notice of it. And in the Year 1662, the Act of Uniformity passed, whereby about two thousand of the Non-conformist Ministers were deprived of their Preferments. But the King, to manifest the Sincerity of his Promises from *Breda*, soon after his coming over, proposed a Conference between the Conformists and Non-conformists, in hopes of comprehending all within the Pale of the Church; and in the mean time published a Declaration, dispensing with the use of the Surplice, and Ceremonies, the Oath of Canonical Obedience, and of such Parts of the Liturgy as were scrupled by the dissenting Clergy. And though they were all satisfied, or at least pretended to be so, with the Government of the Church by Bishops, and the use of a Liturgy, or Form of

Common-

Common-Prayer, yet the King's Attempts towards a Comprehension were soon defeated. For when the Dissenters were desired to make their Objections to such Parts of the Common-Prayer as they did not like, and to hear what might be offered in Defence of them, they employed Mr. Baxter, it seems, to draw up a new Liturgy for them, which they would have imposed upon the Episcopal Clergy, in the room of that which had been composed by the greatest Men in the Church, many of whom had laid down their Lives in Defence of it; after which Proceeding, it is not at all to be wondered at, that the Conference came to nothing. But our Historians, and particularly one who is a reverend Prelate of the Church at this Day, seems passionately to lament that the King's Declaration did not pass into an Act of Parliament. Now, though such a Declaration might be proper enough at that Juncture, till things could be accommodated and settled, yet surely it was a very odd Act to perpetuate. It seems to me no more than a Royal Permission, or Indulgence, for every Man to do what was right in his own Eyes; nay, and to vary and alter when, and as often as he saw fit. So that you should have heard one Set of Prayers in one Church, and another in another: You should have seen a Surplice in this Place, a Cloak in that, and perhaps the same Person one Day in a Gown, and another in the Habit of a *Merry Andrew*; which must have tended extreamly to the Edification of the Godly.

But however wisely or justly the Parliament, or the Ministry, acted towards the restoring or establishing the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Unity of the Church, we meet with grievous Complaints on both Hands: The Cavaliers are very loud upon the Head of confirming the Rebels in

the Possession of those Goods they had been plundered of, and of giving the greatest Preferments and Places to some of those who had been the most violent Incendiaries and Enemies to his late Majesty.

In Answer to this, it may be demanded of the Cavaliers, whether they would not have been glad, upon those Terms, to have seen a Restoration, when the King was in Exile? And whether the King promised any thing more in the Circumstances he was in at *Breda*, than it was proper to offer, in order to effect so great a Revolution? And in the next Place, whether those Presbyterians, that were preferred, had not a very great Share in the King's Restoration? If these Questions (as certainly they must) are resolved in the Affirmative, the Cavaliers will have but little Reason to complain.

It may be considered farther, that the Numbers of the Presbyterians that were promoted were very inconsiderable, if compared with those of the Royalists: And his Majesty was so sensible of the good Services of the latter, that he procured an Act for the distributing 60,000 *l.* amongst the indigent Cavaliers.

Besides, it was highly prudent, and of the greatest Importance, to encourage some of the Whig-Leaders at that Juncture, in order to quiet the Minds of that Party, and prevent things running into Confusion again, even if no Promises or Encouragements had been before given them to expect it.

But as the Cavaliers are apt to charge their Prince with Neglect and Injustice towards them, so we find the Dissenters no less disappointed and clamorous, that they were not equally preferred with the Cavaliers, that their Preachers were not confirmed

ed in their respective Cures, and their Church-Discipline established, or at least tolerated, when they had contributed so much towards the Restoration of the King, and had received so much Encouragement to hope for his Favour and Protection when he was abroad.

To these Complaints, I perceive, it is answered, that there were Acts of Uniformity in force, with which the King could not dispense, when he made that Declaration at *Breda*; that the King laboured with all his Might, from time to time, to procure them an Act of Indulgence; but the Parliament did not then think a general Toleration consistent with the Being of the Church; but that to encourage all Religions and Persuasions, was the ready way to have no Religion at all. And whether their Conjecture was right, is left to the Consideration of the present Generation.

However, King *Charles*, that he might be as good as his Word, apprehending it in his Power to suspend the penal Laws in Cases of Religion, did issue several Declarations of Indulgence. And the Dissenters, for a considerable Part of his Reign, had their Meetings as regularly and openly as those of the Established Church, 'till *Shaftsbury*, and some other discarded Courtiers, reviv'd in them the rebellious Principles and Practices of their Forefathers; and then the King found himself under a Necessity of suffering the Law to take its Course against them.

I find our Historians, indeed, rashly enough, and some of them maliciously affirming, that all those Attempts of the King to procure an Indulgence for the Dissenters, even from the time of his Restoration, was *only* in order to procure the same Favours for the Papists. Now, if it should be admitted, that this might be some Motive to it, he having

received such considerable Testimonies of their Loyalty and Affection in his greatest Distress, after the Battel of *Worcester* ; yet why this should be the *only* Inducement, and no manner of Regard had to the Veracity of the Prince, or his grateful Remembrance of the Services the Dissenters had done him at his Restoration ; why these Considerations should be entirely omitted, can proceed from nothing but the Spirit of Partiality, especially in those who are so well acquainted with the constant Tenor of his Speeches and Declarations.

Besides, to me, and to any impartial Man, I believe, this Prince will appear at the Restoration, to be possess'd of as benign a Temper, as benevolent a Nature, as ever Prince was endowed with. 'Tis evident to a Demonstration, that he was resolved, if possible, to reign in the Hearts of all his Subjects : For though he knew many of them held Principles very inconsistent with Monarchy, and the old Grudges and Prejudices were hardly laid asleep ; and there were many veteran Soldiers of a Republican Spirit dispers'd in his Dominions, who would gladly have heard the Trumpet sound to Arms again ; yet in these Circumstances did this Prince choose to disband his Troops, and trust to the Act of Oblivion, and his own mild and generous Disposition, to render himself, and his People, easy and secure.

But to consider a little farther the mighty Merit claim'd by the Presbyterians, in being so instrumental in the Restoration of the King, and the antient Constitution. Surely nothing is more evident, than that the principal Inducements for bringing in the King, were the freeing themselves from the Yoke of their Independent Brethren, and the Re-establishment of Presbytery. We see, in all the Treaties with the late King, this was the govern-
ing

ing Article, this was what the *Scots* Presbyterians stipulated for, when they afforded their Assistance to King *Charles II.* they would not so much as admit a Cavalier to remain near his Person : And this was what the Committee of Dissenting Teachers, that attended the King in *Holland*, insisted upon just before the Restoration. They had the Impudence to remonstrate even against the King's having Divine Service perform'd in his own Chapel after the Manner of the Church of *England*, till he told them, *As he was content to allow them their Liberty, so he hop'd they would not endeavour to deprive him of his.* From these and many more Instances that might be produc'd, it is very evident that the Presbyterians thought of nothing less than the restoring the antient Constitution, or the King himself, unless he would be made a Tool to restore Presbytery. The restoring the King and the Nation therefore to their just Rights was purely accidental as to them : Their Share of Merit in that Particular was exceeding small. And, indeed, had not the Bulk of the People at the Restoration been much better Friends to the Constitution, both in Church and State, than they were, (as appears by the Petitions from the several Parishes for the old Liturgy) it would have been very difficult to have brought about that Revolution, and much more difficult to have established it. But the Nation was now fully convinc'd of the Hypocrisy of the Sectaries of all Sorts : They had seen the Tendency of their destructive Principles, and entertain'd such an insuperable Aversion to them, and such a Passion for their antient Form of Government, that nothing but a standing Army could have established any other. And this is the plain and true Reason why the King could never obtain an Indulgence for the Dissenters ; tho' he left no means unattempted to

procure it, 'till they plotted his Destruction, as they had done his Father's, and thereby sufficiently acquitted him of all Promises he had made for their Protection. Still the Dissenters pretend to have sustain'd great Hardships by the Act of Uniformity, commonly called by them the *Bartholomew-Act*, which passed in 1662, whereby they say no less than two thousand of their Ministers were ejected out of their Livings, because they could not conform. But if it be remember'd that many of these Men were Independents, who always oppos'd the Restoration, and had no Promises, or indeed real Grounds to expect any Favour from the King or Government; that many more of them had come in by Intrusion, and ejecting of honest Loyalists; and others were scandalously ignorant, or loose in their Principles: If these things are considered, these pretended Sufferers will be reduced to a very small Number. And since they made room for Men generally of much greater Parts and Learning, as well as less Hypocrisy, and that it did not lie in the King's Power (nor did he indeed pretend to it, where Free-holds were concerned) to dispense with the Laws of the Land: I say, considering all this, as I don't see how their Expulsion could be avoided, so neither do I think their Deprivation is mightily to be lamented. And now I am inclined to believe, that neither the Complaints of the Cavaliers, or Dissenters against the Administration in the Reign of King *Charles II.* at least for some Years after the Restoration, will appear of any great Weight to any one who shall impartially review the Posture of Affairs at that time.

The first considerable Enterprize we find King *Charles* engaged in, after he had settled Affairs at Home, was a War with the *Dutch*, which begun in the Year 1664, though it was not declar'd 'till 1665;

1665; for the *Dutch* endeavouring to deprive the *English* of the *African* Trade, as they had formerly of the Spice Trade of *India*, the King fitted out a Squadron of Men of War, and made Reprisals upon a Fleet of their Merchant-men that were returning from *Bourdeaux*.

This War was enter'd into, not only by the Advice, but at the particular Instance of both Houses of Parliament, and of the City of *London*, who now plainly discovered that the *Dutch* were endeavouring to engross the Trade of the whole World to themselves.

The *English* were victorious at the Beginning of the War. But it being considered, that the best way to annoy and distress the *Dutch* would be to fit out some light Frigates, and attack their Merchant-Men in their Voyages Out and Home, in the Year 1667, most of the great Ships were laid up, and only some light Squadrons fitted out to carry on a sort of Pyrratical War; which the *Dutch* understanding, came out with their grand Fleet, and insulted the *English* Coast, and sail'd up the *Medway* as far as *Charham*, where they burnt several of the King's Ships in the Harbour, and threaten'd *London* itself, which put the Town into a great Consternation. The Occasion of this Misfortune is charg'd upon the Neglect of those who had the Care of fortifying the Mouth of the River, and the other Harbours, where the Royal Navy was laid up: But the Expectation of a sudden Peace, and the Want of Money to fit out the grand Fleet, conduc'd very much to the bringing this Disgrace upon the *English*. And indeed, considering that the Nation had not only the *French* and *Dane*, as well as the *Dutch*, to contend with, but were also afflicted with the Plague, and the City of *London* reduc'd to Ashes, during this War; it is well, under

der all these Calamities, their Losses were no greater at Sea.

While the *Dutch Fleet* remain'd upon the Coasts, they receiv'd Advice that a Peace was concluded at *Breda*; and thereupon they return'd home, without having done any considerable Damage, after the burning those two or three Men of War at *Chatham*. By this Peace each Party was to keep what he had possess'd himself of, before, or during the War; and the *Dutch* were to strike to the King's Ships when they met them, as heretofore.

The ill Success of this War, the Sale of *Dunkirk*, and all other Miscarriages in the Administration, were charg'd upon the Lord Chancellor *Clarendon*, who was now laid aside and banish'd, as 'tis said, to appease the incens'd Commons; tho' the real Occasion of his Disgrace is imputed to other Considerations by some of our Historians. They tell us, that it was the Lord *Clarendon* that had prevented the settling such a Revenue upon the Crown at the Restoration, as to render it less dependent on Parliaments; and when the King found himself reduc'd to great Necessities for Want of Money, he took occasion from the popular Discontents to shew his Resentment against the Earl, whom he look'd on as the Occasion of this Distress. It is said he had also provok'd both Papists and Presbyterians, by putting the Laws in Execution against them, and rendered himself very unacceptable to the Ladies of Pleasure, and a luxurious Court, who were offended at his rigid Virtue; and that there was a certain Formality and Stiffness in his Behaviour, which was very opposite to the Gaiety of the Age he liv'd in. And under all these Prejudices and Disadvantages, we are not much to wonder at the Fall of this great Man, though hardly

hardly any Minister of State had ever shew'd more Probity or good Conduct, and had fewer real Mischances to answer for. As for those three common ones that are imputed to him, namely, the Marriage of his Daughter to the Duke of York, the marrying the King to the Infanta of Portugal, and the Sale of *Dunkirk*; if we give our selves the Trouble of perusing our *English* Histories relating to those Facts, we shall find the Lord *Clarendon* had very little to answer for upon any of those Accounts. And the Mention of them brings another thing to my Memory, which is said to contribute to his Disgrace; and that is, his opposing the King's Divorce from Queen *Katherine*. But this is a Piece of secret History I am so little satisfied in the Truth of, that I shall make no Reflections on it, 'till I see it better supported.

To proceed: The King having rais'd some Troops upon the Invasion of the *Dutch*, and being upon the Peace address'd to disband them by the Parliament; as also to dismiss all Papists out of his Guards, and vacate the *Canary* Patent, and other Monopolies, the King comply'd with them in every Instance; for which he receiv'd the Thanks of both Houses; but above all, for his discarding the Earl of *Clarendon*, who was then look'd upon as the Author of all their Grievances. And to oblige the Parliament yet more, his Majesty enter'd into a Defensive Alliance with the *Dutch* and the *Swede*, which was called the TRIPLE ALLIANCE, design'd principally for the Preservation of *Flanders*, which was look'd upon to be in great Danger from the Power and Ambition of the *French* King, *Lewis* XIV.

The Kingdom being now in full Peace, the King spent his time in improving and encouraging useful Inventions, in Progresses about the Kingdom,

dom, sometimes to one Sea-port, and sometimes to another, in viewing their Strength and Situation, in ordering proper Fortifications for their Defence, and for the Repair and Increase of the Royal Navy. He also visited the Universities, and gave all Encouragement to those learned Bodies; and in no Reign were ingenious Arts and Sciences more cultivated and improved. He also used, and very much delighted in Horse-racing and Hunting, and other manly Exercises; and he appear'd so extremely easy and unreserv'd in his Conversation, that he commanded the Esteem and Affection of all that knew him: And had he not been led by those Men of Wit, the Duke of *Bucks* and the Lord *Rochester*, into softer Amusements, and thereby sometimes neglected the great Affairs of State, his Enemies would have had little to object to the Conduct of this Prince: For notwithstanding he was called Papist by one Side, and Presbyterian by the other, as he complains in one of his Speeches, I believe the Nation was very well satisfied he was always desirous to render his People as easy and happy as possible, and was as well qualified to promote their Security and Happiness, as ever any Prince was that had sat upon the Throne; nor was he ever so bigotted to any Religion, or Persuasion, as to endeavour to oppress his People to promote it. It must be confess'd, that on the dismissing of the Lord *Clarendon*, the Court began to live something more luxuriously than it had done, and the Expences of the Crown too much exceeded the Revenue, which occasion'd the King to press his Parliaments a little too importunately for Supplies; and they on the other Hand begun more narrowly to enquire into the Management of the publick Treasure, which occasion'd the first considerable Breach between the King and his Parliament. Had the King kept within the
Bounds

Bounds of his Revenue, the Nation would have had no Colour for Complaint. But let his Conduct in that Matter be what it will, possibly it may be difficult to discover where there were a happier People under Heaven than the *English* were at that time; or whenever the Nation enjoyed such universal Liberty, Peace and Plenty; or abounded more in Wit, Learning, Good-breeding, Hospitality, and a genteel and easy Conversation, than in this Reign. And for a State of Perfection, or to see the *English* Nation without any real or pretended *Grievances*, he that cannot enjoy himself 'till this happens, is like to have but an uneasy Life.

In the Year 1670, the Republican Spirit beginning to revive again, the Ministry, who consisted of the Lord *Clifford*, *Ashly*, *Bucks*, *Arlington* and *Lauderdale*, and were denominated the Cabal, as well from their close Contrivances, as from the initial Letters of their Names composing the Word Cabal, advis'd his Majesty to exert his Prerogative, and to confine the Commons within their just Bounds, who now begun to make large Encroachments. And as the *Dutch* were the great Support of the *English* Republicans, and had given occasion for a fresh Quarrel, by their Non-performance of some late Treaties, and their continual Piracies on the *English* Trade, they advis'd the King to break with the States, and to enter into an Alliance with *France*, in order to humble those proud Merchants. And 'tis said the *French* King furnished a considerable Sum towards the equipping the *English* Fleet; and at the same time the Ministry raised near a Million and half of Money for the same Purpose, by stopping Payment of all Sums of Money out of the Exchequer for a Twelve-month.

This

This War, like the last, begun some time before it was proclaim'd, the *Dutch* falling upon our *African* Trade abroad, and the *English* upon their homeward bound *Smyrna* Fleet in the Channel, of whom they took three or four Ships,

To make all things easy at home, the King issued a Declaration for suspending the penal Laws against both Dissenters and Papists. He gave the Dissenters the Liberty of assembling in their Meeting-houses, and the Papists were permitted the private Exercise of their Religion in their Families.

This Indulgence gave no less Offence to the Parliament, than the *Dutch* War: And tho' the Lord *Shaftsbury* made a most pathetick Speech to them, shewing that the *Dutch* were our great Rivals in Trade, and were to be depress'd at any Rate. (*DELLENDA EST CARTHAGO* were his Words) yet they could not be brought to give any Supplies, till his Majesty had revok'd and cancell'd his Declaration of Indulgence. *Shaftsbury* advis'd his Majesty to stick to his Declaration, and not revoke it; and his Parliament, he was of Opinion, would in time comply. But when he found the King yield to the Importunity of their Addresses, he immediately abandon'd his Interest, and fell in with the Whig Party, out of Resentment, 'tis said, for the King's Unsteadiness, and partly to secure himself from an Impeachment of the Commons, having been the principal Adviser in all arbitrary Measures.

In this second *Dutch* War several fierce Battels were fought at Sea; but none of them decisive. The *French* Squadron, that join'd the *English*, often stood aloof; and 'tis said, with Joy beheld the two *Maritime* Powers destroying each other. But tho' the *French* did little at Sea, they made rapid Conquests by Land, and had infallibly made themselves Masters of the United Provinces, if the *Dutch* had
not

not laid great Part of their Country under Water. This so alarm'd the Court, as well as the Parliament of *England*, that it occasioned a Peace with the *Dutch*.

The Earl of *Shaftsbury* every Day entring into Measures more opposite to the Court, and falling in with the Republican Party, the Great Seal was taken from him, and given to Sir *Heneage Finch*. *Shaftsbury* being discarded, did not only betray the King's Secrets to the Whigs, but set all his Majesty's Actions in the most disadvantageous Light, and so improv'd the People's Jealousies and Fears, that the Parliament were not only importunate with the King for a Peace with *Holland*, and disbanding the Army that had been rais'd, with which the King complied; but they remonstrated against his very Guards, as a dangerous and unlawful Body of Men. Whereupon his Majesty, in Answer to one of their Addresses on this Head, told them, he had done as much on his Part, as was possible, to extinguish the Fears and Jealousies of Popery, and would leave nothing undone that might shew the World his Zeal to the Protestant Religion, as it was established in the Church of *England*, FROM WHICH he would NEVER DEPART.

And, indeed, except the disbanding his Guards, there was no one Instance wherein his Majesty did not hearken to the Advice of his Parliament. He made a Peace with the *Dutch*, enter'd into Alliances with them against the *French*, put the Laws in Execution against Papists as often as they desired, and only deferr'd declaring War against *France*, till he saw what Supplies the Parliament would advance towards it. They insisted, indeed, that the King should declare War first, and enter into such Alliances as they directed him; and then, they said, they would raise Money. Which Usage highly incens'd

incens'd his Majesty, and he truly declared, *That the Parliament pretended publick Ends and Dangers, and many honest Men were led away with these Pretences; but the Heats amongst them were rais'd by some factious Leaders, who thought more of themselves than any thing else, and had a Mind to engage him in a War, and then leave him in it, unless they might have their Terms in removing his Ministers, and filling up Places; and he was very unwilling to be so much at their Mercy.*

Still the Parliament urged the King to remove his evil Counsellors, and declare War against *France*, and voted that no Money should be given till they had received Satisfaction in Matters of Religion.

The *Dutch*, observing such Jealousies and Distrusts between the King and his Parliament, agreed upon Articles of Peace with *France*.

But when the Peace was upon the Point of being concluded, the *French* refus'd to evacuate the Towns in *Flanders*, according to the Treaty: And had not the King sent over ten thousand Men to the Assistance of the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, the Peace had been broken off, and probably all *Flanders* lost to the *French* King; which is an Argument to me, that at this time King *Charles* was very little in the Interest of the Court of *France*, whatever was pretended. And notwithstanding this memorable Service perform'd by the King's Troops, we meet with continual Complaints against the continuing them, only till the Peace was ratify'd; and many of these brave Men, who had done such Service in the *Netherlands*, were left to perish, the Parliament absolutely persisting in their Resolution to give the King no Supply.

In the midst of this Misunderstanding between the King and Parliament, in the Year 1678, hap-
pen'd

pen'd the pretended Discovery of a **Popish Plot** to kill the King, and destroy the Government; which immeasurably heighten'd Men's Fears. Of which I shall say little here, but refer the Reader to Mr. *Echard's History of England*, where he will find the Plot prov'd to be entirely a Sham: Only I must take notice of one Aspersions cast on his Majesty King *Charles II.* viz. *That the King suffered several to be executed for the Plot, though he believed them innocent.* For my part, I can't see why we should not have as much Charity for his Majesty as for many others, who, upon the Evidence that was at first produced, certainly believed the thing; though when the Perjuries of the Witnesses were detected, and their Prejudices removed, became of another Mind: As was the Case of the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies*, and many more, who had as great Opportunities of discovering the Imposture, as his Majesty himself could be suppos'd to have.

The People being now very much alarmed and confirm'd in their Fears of Popery, the next Step *Shaftsbury* and the Faction took, was an Attempt to procure a Bill to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Succession of the Crown. The King thereupon assur'd the Parliament, *That he would concur in whatsoever reasonable Bills they should present him, to make them safe in the Reign of his Successor, so as they did not tend to impeach the Right of Succession, nor the Descent of the Crown in the true Line; and so as they did not restrain his own Power, or the just Rights of any Protestant Successors.* But when the King found nothing would divert them from proceeding in the Bill of Exclusion, and impeaching and prosecuting his Ministers; and finding *Oates* and his Confederates had the Impudence to charge the Queen herself as a Conspirator in the Popish Plot, which the Parlia-

ment begun to give Credit to, he first prorogued, and afterwards dissolv'd this Long Parliament, which had continued near eighteen Years. And in *March* 1679 he assembled another; but in order to silence all Clamours against Popish Counsels, he first commanded the Duke of *York* to reside in *Flanders*, and banished all other Papists from the Court. The first Difference between the King and this House of Commons happen'd upon the Choice of Mr. *Edward Seymour* for their Speaker, whom the King refus'd, and compelled them to choose another, viz. Mr. *Sergeant Gregory*, whom his Majesty was pleas'd to approve.

This House of Commons begun where the last left off, viz. with the Prosecution of the Earl of *Danby*, and the five Popish Lords. The King, in hopes of bringing them to some Temper, made an entire Change in his Ministry, and constituted a new Privy Council, introducing several of the most popular Whig Lords and Commoners; and among the rest, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, the Lord *Hollis*, and the Lord *Russel*. This, at first, seem'd to give a general Satisfaction, and Bells and Bonfires proclaim'd the People's Joy. But the pious Lord *Shaftsbury* finding his Credit and Influence not so great as he expected in the Council, begun about this time to set up the Duke of *Monmouth* against the Court, and soon brought things into their primitive Confusion.

The King foreseeing another Storm, and finding the Bill of Exclusion was upon the Anvil again, made the following Proposals to the Parliament.

1. That in case of a Popish Successor, all Ecclesiastical and Spiritual Benefices and Promotions in the Gift of the Crown should be conferr'd on the most deserving Protestants, and that the Prince should

should have no Power to controul such Presentments.

2. That no Papist should sit in Parliament; and that on a Demise of the Crown, the Parliament should assemble, and not be dissolvable for a competent time.

3. All Privy Counsellors, Judges, Officers and Magistrates, should be Protestants, and should not be displaced, during the Reign of a Popish Successor, but by Consent of Parliament.

4. That no Lord-Lieutenant, Deputy-Lieutenant, or Officer of the Navy, should be removed, during the Reign of a Popish Successor, but by Authority of Parliament. And if any thing else occur'd to the Wisdom of the Parliament, which might farther secure Religion and Liberty against a Popish Successor, without defeating the Right of Succession itself, his Majesty offered to consent to it, as he said he should to every thing else they either wanted or wished to make them happy.

But notwithstanding these Concessions, the Commons were, or at least affected to appear, uneasy. The Republicans amongst them very well knew, that a good Understanding between the King and his Commons would defeat all their Projects, and were therefore resolved never to be satisfied. They were, at this Instant, associating with their Brethren of *Scotland*, as their Forefathers did in the last Reign, in order to overturn both the Church and the Monarchy. But the *English* Court took such prudent Measures, and the Covenanters in *Scotland* so precipitated Matters, by murdering the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and rising in Rebellion, before the

Saints in *England* were wrought up to a due Pitch, and prepared to join them, that their Whig Schemes could not take Place in this Reign in either Nation, but ended in the Overthrow and Confusion of the Conspirators. But to proceed: The King finding the Commons would go upon no manner of Business, but the Plot and the Exclusion Bill, thought fit to dissolve them; and about the same time sent the Duke of *Monmouth* with a Body of Troops into *Scotland*, who entirely routed the Covenanters at *Bothwell-Bridge*, and hanged up several of the Assassins, who had murdered the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*.

Shaftsbury's Practices being very well understood by the Court, the King thought fit to remove him from his Council, of which he had been made President, in hopes to have brought him off from his destructive Projects. Hereupon *Shaftsbury*, to shew his Malignity to the Court, and particularly to the Duke of *York*, gave out that the Duke of *Monmouth* was the legitimate Son of King *Charles II.* and consequently next Heir to the Crown: But the King solemnly declaring he was never married to the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother, and there appearing no Foundation for the Report, it soon vanished. The next Attempt against his Royal Highness, was to get him convicted for a Popish Reculant. And accordingly a formal Presentment was made to that Purpose at the *King's-Bench* Bar; but the Grand Jury being dismissed, the Bill was never found.

The King having called another Parliament, they met on the 21st of *October*, 1680, when the King made a Speech to them, and exhorted them to Unanimity; telling them, he had done all that was possible for him to do to keep them in Peace while he lived, and to leave them so when he died. But whatever he could say, or do, made no

Impression

Impression on them: They were hardly assembled in their House, but *Shaftsbury's* Emissaries and Incendiaries work'd them up into a Flame; they fell again upon the Exclusion Bill, nor would hear of any Expedients. The offering to commit the Administration of the Government to the Princess of *Orange*, during the Reign of a Popish Successor, could not remove their Fears, or bring them to any Temper; but they pass'd the Bill of Exclusion, and sent it up to the Lords, who rejected it. Still this did not at all abate the Spirit of the Whigs; they ply'd the King with Address after Address, that the Duke of *York* might be disabled to inherit the Crown. The King again offered them any other Expedients to secure their Religion and Liberties, but remained immoveable in the Point of the Succession. Whereupon the Commons came to these three modest Resolves.

1. That there was no Security for the Protestant Religion, the King's Life, &c. without disabling the Duke of *York* to inherit the Crown.

2. That until such a Bill was pass'd, they could not give any Supplies to his Majesty, without endangering his Person, and the Protestant Religion.

3. That the Counsellors, who advis'd his Majesty to persist in his Opinion, were Promoters of Popery, and Enemies to the King and Kingdom; and address'd his Majesty to remove the Lord *Halifax*, *Hyde*, *Worcester*, *Clarendon* and *Feverisham*, from all Offices and Places of Trust, and from his Councils for ever. And they resolv'd farther, 1st. That whoever should lend the King Money upon any Branch of his Revenue, were Hinderers of the fit-

ting of Parliaments, and should be responsible for the same in Parliament. And *2dly*, Whoever should accept or buy any Tally or Anticipation upon any Part of the King's Revenue, or whoever should pay such Tally, should be adjudged a Hinderer of the sitting of Parliaments, and be responsible for the same in Parliament.

The Commons having made some farther angry Resolves, and sufficiently manifested the Spirit that moved them, the King first prorogued, and soon after dissolved them.

He resolved, however, once more to try to accommodate Matters in Parliament: And conceiving the Neighbourhood of *London* might inspire them with factious Principles, he appointed the next Parliament to meet at *Oxford*; where, to his great Surprise, they came with such armed Multitudes, as if they designed to compel him to submit to their Demands. They wore Ribbands in their Hats, with the Words, NO POPERY, NO SLAVERY, wrought in them; and in all their Words and Behaviour seemed to threaten his Majesty with their Resentments. But the King dissolving the Parliament on a sudden, before their Plot was ripe, had the good Luck to escape the Conspirators Hands; and *Colledge*, one of their principal Bravo's and Incendiaries, who went by the Name of the PROTESTANT JOYNER, was executed afterwards at *Oxford* for his treasonable Practices there. And now the King, taking the Reins of Government into his Hands, and making some Examples of the Factious, did not only gain more Authority and Reverence; but, 'tis said, acquired more Love and Affection than he had ever yet experienced.

His Friends found Protection from him; and his Enemies, many of them, despairing of Success in

in their rebellious Attempts, came over to his Interest; so that he might at this time properly be said to *reign*. Addressees came from all Parts of the Kingdom, approving his Majesty's Conduct, and promising to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.

And now the Court thought fit to prefer a Bill of High-Treason against the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who was the Source of all those Conspiracies and Attempts against the Government. And though, besides the living Witnesses that appeared against him, there was an Association produced, that was found in his Study, for obtaining an Alteration of the Succession of the Crown by Force of Arms, since it could not be done by Law; yet the Grand Jury being pack'd by the Whig-Sheriffs, who were indeed of the Conspiracy with the Criminal, the Bill was not found, and *Shaftsbury* and his Friends triumphed over the Court. *Colledge*, and other Traitors, met with the same indulgent Usage from the City of *London*; but *Colledge* being sent down to *Oxford* to be tried for his Expedition thither in the time of the *Oxford* Parliament, Justice laid hold of him there, and he was condemned and executed as a Traitor. And the next Year the Sheriffs of *London* proving to be of a more loyal Stamp, (though great Riots and Tumults were raised in the City to prevent their Election) *Shaftsbury* thought fit to retreat to *Holland*, where he soon after died. This ambitious Earl, it seems, used to brag among the factious Citizens, *That he should in time leisurely walk the King out of his Dominions*. But being disappointed in his Designs upon the Parliament, he had recourse to more violent Measures, in which too he was happily defeated, and forced to fly for Refuge to a People, whom he once endeavoured to extirpate from off the Face of the Earth. DELEND A

EST CARTHAGO, was the grand Topick he used heretofore to insist on in the *English* Senate. And it is observed of this Nobleman, that tho' he was the Occasion and Adviser of the most arbitrary and illegal Actions in this Reign, yet he perished in a pretended Attempt to rescue the Nation from arbitrary Power: And as when he was in Power he was the greatest Tyrant, so when he was discarded he became the greatest Incendiary.

But notwithstanding *Shaftsbury* was removed, the Plot for compelling the King to alter the Succession still went forward: The Duke of *Monmouth*, the Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Howard*, Colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Hampden*, and the Lord *Russel*, formed a sort of a Council to carry it on, and entertained a Correspondence with the *Scots*. And another Set of the Conspirators formed still a more desperate Design, (with which 'tis said the Gentlemen abovementioned were not acquainted) namely, to assassinate his Majesty at the *Rye* in *Hertfordshire*, as he came from *New-Market*; from whence the Conspiracy obtained the Name of the *Rye-house Plot*. But a Fire happening at *New-market*, brought the King to *London* sooner than was expected: Upon which Disappointment several of the Conspirators surrendered themselves, and discovered the Plot; which occasioned Addresses of Congratulation from all Parts of the Kingdom. And the Lords *Essex*, *Russel*, *Sidney*, and many of the principal Conspirators, were taken up; of whom the Lord *Essex* cut his Throat in the *Tower*; and the Lord *Russel*, and *Sidney*, and some others, were convicted and executed. The Duke of *Monmouth*, confessing his Concern in the first part of the Plot, was received into Favour, but afterwards relapsing, he went into *Holland*.

The City of *London* having been the constant Receptacle and Harbour of all factious Spirits, and fomented continual Riots and Tumults, to the endangering the King and Government, a *Quo Warranto* issued out against the City, and their Charter was adjudged to be forfeited: Whereupon the future Lord-Mayors, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, were appointed by his Majesty; and the City became as peaceable and quiet as any other part of the King's Dominions. And several other Corporations, apprehending themselves to be obnoxious, surrendered their Charters, and received new ones from the Crown.

The *French* Protestants being driven out of their Country at this Time, and taking Refuge in *England*, the King did not only order them large Sums out of the Treasury, but recommended their Condition to all his Subjects; and very considerable Collections were made for them.

And though the Laws against the Dissenters were at the same time put in Execution in *England*, it was far from being upon a religious Account. Had they behaved themselves quietly, and as dutiful Subjects, they might have enjoyed that Indulgence they had experienced in the former part of this Reign. But when the King found them in all Plots and Conspiracies against his Government, he was under a Necessity of keeping a strict Hand over them. And it is generally agreed, that had this Reign continued but very little longer, they would have made good Churchmen, as well as good Subjects; for few of them were of such scrupulous Consciences, but they chose at this time rather to frequent their Parish-Churches, than pay the Penalty of absenting. And we see very few of them at this Day, that look upon the Terms of Communion to be so sinful, but that they can comply with the
most

most *idolatrous Part of our Worship*, as they are sometimes pleased to call it, when a Place of Honour or Profit is in View.

And now the King reigning in perfect Peace, and having mastered all Factions at home, and by his gracious and popular Behaviour rendered himself exceedingly beloved by his People, is accounted to be in the Height of all his Glory. And he so well husbanded his Revenue too, that he every Day lessened his Debts : And had he had Occasion to call a Parliament, so passionately was the Nation affected to him at this time, that he might have made himself as arbitrary as he pleased. But he seems to me as little to have desired to encroach upon the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, as any Prince that ever reigned. What else could have prevented his rendring himself absolute, either at the Restoration, or now ? It is evident, his principal Aim and Delight, as is observed in his Character, was to make all Mankind easy and happy ; and it was entirely the Fault of his Subjects, if they were not so in an eminent Degree.

The King found, indeed, by a long Experience, that the old Royalists were the staunchest Friends to the Constitution ; and therefore, those he principally encouraged ; and a little before his Death was about founding an Hospital at *Chelsea*, “ for the
 “ Maintenance of such of them as had taken up
 “ Arms for him, and his Royal Father, to resist
 “ that Torrent of Rebellion, which overturned the
 “ Monarchy and the Church ; and were by Wounds,
 “ old Age, or other Accidents, reduced to Poverty.
 “ And he required the Archbishop to issue his
 “ Circular Letters to all the Bishops of his Province, earnestly exciting them to deal effectually
 “ with all in their Diocesses, to contribute liberally
 “ to so good a Design, so manifestly to the Glory
 “ of

“ of Almighty God, and the Service of their King
“ and Country.” This Design, indeed, his Ma-
jesty did not live to compleat: However, it after-
wards gave the Hint of converting that noble Pile
at *Chelsea* into an Infirmary for maim’d Soldiers.

And now we are arrived at the last unpleasant
Scene, when his Majesty, amidst all the good and
great Designs he was employed in for his People’s
Happiness, was seized with a Fit of an Apoplexy
on the second of *February* 1684. And though he
came to his Senses again, and was thought to be in
a fair way of Recovery, he expired in another Fit
on the sixth of the same Month. We are told,
that Father *Huddleston* was introduced to the King
by his Royal Highness the Duke of *York* in his last
Moments, and that his Majesty dy’d in the Com-
munion of the Church of *Rome*, receiving Extreme
Unction, and the Eucharist, by the Hands of this
Priest. But surely little Stress is to be laid upon
what was transacted by the King in this Disorder,
while his Head was so affected with his Distemper.
When his Majesty was at the Point of Death, there
is no doubt, but every Creature about the Court
was under the Influence of the Successor, and he
might introduce and exclude whom he pleased. The
King might probably too comply with the Impor-
tunities of those about him, meerly to be quiet.
Therefore, notwithstanding all that has been said to
make his Majesty a Papist, to me the constant Te-
nor of his Words and Actions, during his whole
Reign, carry a much greater Presumption that he
died a Protestant.



JAMES II.

1684.



JAMES II. third Son of King *Charles I.* and only surviving Brother and Heir to King *Charles II.* succeeded to the Crown the sixth of *February* 1684⁵. There had been a Bill brought in, and passed the House of Commons, for excluding him from the Throne upon account of his Religion; but it was thrown out by the Lords. And there being no Dispute as to his Title, he was universally recognized on the Death of King *Charles II.*

Of this Prince we have the following Character from an ingenious Foreigner.

The Character of King James II.

The Duke of *York* (says he) employed his Youth in the continual Exercise of Arms: He had always apply'd himself to it from the Age of nine Years, when he was with his Father at *Edge-Hill* Fight, till the Age of twenty seven, when he returned into *England* with his Brother. His Genius led him that Way: He valued any Opportunity of signalizing his Courage, above the greatest political Advantages. This is both commendable and blame-worthy. I know not whether the Duke deserved the Blame; but all *Europe* was convinced that he was worthy of the Praise; and the Commendations given his Valour by the Prince of *Conde*, and Mareschal *Turenne*, those two great Masters of the Art of War, will remain his eternal Monuments.

He

He gave fresh Proofs of it in the War the King his Brother declar'd against the States of *Holland* in the Year 1665; and the Victory he gained over them at Sea, shewed the Duke to be as good a Commander in Chief, as he had been Officer and Soldier: Twenty two of the Enemy's Ships were then taken, burnt or sunk by the *English*, *Opdam* the *Dutch* General perishing there in his. That Fleet had been totally destroyed, had not one *Bronkard*, of the Duke's Bed-chamber, prevented the Execution of his Orders the very Night after the Victory. The Duke lay down to take a little Rest, after giving Orders to make all sail, and keep up with the Remainder of the broken Navy. That Gentleman, who was none of those that valued their Honour above their Life, told the Captain, he was too lavish in exposing the Heir of the Crown, and counterfeited another Order from him for slackening Sail, which was unadvisedly done. He was disgraced, and the Parliament would have brought him to a Trial; but he was discarded: And that Assembly, in the Name of all the Nation, made a publick Acknowledgment to the *Victor* of the Service he had done the Kingdom, assigning him, by an Act still preserved among the Records, a Gratification of 50,000 *l.* and upwards.

This Victory having added new Lustre to the Duke of *York*, he was in the happiest and most agreeable Condition a Prince of his Degree could be. He had an establish'd Reputation not only in *England*, where they look'd upon him as the Support of the Nation; but throughout all *Europe*, where he was regarded as one of the Princes of his time, who best maintain'd the Grandeur of his Birth by his personal Merit. He enjoyed most of the great Places of Profit and Honour, was Lord High Admiral

miral of *England*, and Governour of the *Cinqu-ports*, and of *Portsmouth*. He having Children, and the King none, Abundance of People follow'd him as the Heir to the Crown, which was to pass away to his Head, and remain in his Family; and what made this the happier, the King was not jealous of him. His Majesty being fully convinced of his Affection to him, look'd upon that Prince's Court as the most Loyal Part of his own, and thought he had no surer Friends than the Duke of *York's*.

I am sensible some Politicians thought ill of it, and err'd with those, who, to be thought to see farther into Mysteries of State than others, do report whatsoever they imagine, and not what really is. The Truth is, that the King never had any Jealousy of the Duke, and that the Duke from his Infancy ever behav'd himself so submissively towards the King, that he had no Occasion to suspect him: A thing very rare between two Brothers of that Rank, and in a Court so full of restless and factious Spirits as that of *England* has long been. By this it appears, that all Parties equally made Interest to the Duke of *York*, and that whatsoever way he leant, the Balance inclin'd. This was the Duke of *York's* Condition, and thus were Men's Minds disposed towards him; when a Jealousy spread abroad of his being a Catholick in his Heart, though he still outwardly appeared as a Protestant, beginning to withdraw the Affections of Men from him, gave the first Shock to his Prosperity.

He is allow'd by all to have been a kind Husband, and an indulgent Father; and if we may believe his old Protestant Servants, he was the best of Masters. As to the Person of the King he was pretty tall, fair-complexion'd, and of a longish Vi-

sage.

sage. We cannot allow him to be altogether endow'd with such great Parts as his Brother King *Charles II.* but he was certainly much more industrious and intent upon Business, and far excell'd him in that admirable Virtue of Temperance ; neither was he observ'd to be guilty of prophane Swearing. He was of a familiar Nature enough, and extremely courteous with the Civilities of his Hat, but somewhat too cholerick upon Provocations. He was unfortunate in the Choice of some of his Ministers ; the Odium of whose Cruelties they found at last the Artifice to throw upon himself. Tho' he was temperate beyond his Brother, yet he wanted the Chastity of his Father : However he shar'd to a large Degree his Uxoriousness towards his Wife, and he must be own'd to be a most indulgent Father : and what is to be admir'd in a Prince, he was a careful Manager of his Treasury, and an excellent Husband of his Revenue. I shall add here Part of the Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons, on his presenting the Bill to his Majesty King *Charles II.* when the Gratuity of 50,000 *l.* was given to the Duke for his Service against the *Dutch, viz.*

“ And it is not the least Mercy both to your Majesty and your People, that God hath blessed you with a Brother so like yourself.

“ The Name of his Royal Highness is already inrolled amongst the Heroes of other Nations ; but this his Native Country had not so great Experience of him, 'till your Majesty was pleased, in this Summer's Expedition, to trust him with the Conduct of the most Royal Fleet that ever sail'd upon the *British* Seas ; wherein he shewed that Prowess and that Prudence, and by the Blessing of Almighty God was crown'd with
“ that

“ that Success against the *Dutch*, that we cannot pass
 “ it by in Silence : and yet we are at a Loss how
 “ to express our Thanks both to your Majesty and
 “ to him. I am commanded therefore to beseech
 “ your Majesty, that you will vouchsafe to let us
 “ make a Present to you of a Month's Tax to come
 “ in the Rear, after the four and twenty Months
 “ of your Majesty's Royal Aid, and that your
 “ Majesty will be pleased to bestow it upon his
 “ Royal Highness.

Thus was this Prince happy in the Affections of
 the People, 'till he discovered his Religion ; and
 notwithstanding the Prejudices against him upon
 this Account, he had, in a great measure, recovered
 their good Opinion again, before his Brother died.
 He came to the Crown with great Applause, and
 gave such Assurances of protecting our Religion
 and Properties at his Accession, that the Parliament
 he called appeared as loyal and affectionate to their
 Prince, as any that had been assembled of late Years.
 And to the Intrigues of the Jesuits, and of some
 false Brethren in his Council, who put the King
 upon arbitrary and illegal Measures, and then betray-
 ed, and reviled him for pursuing their Counsels ; to
 these we may impute most of his own and his Peo-
 ple's Misfortunes afterwards. I shall not enter in-
 to the impolitick and illegal Acts of this Reign.
 Religion and Property probably were in some Dan-
 ger : But it was very much owing to the Obsti-
 nacy of the Whigs in the late Reign, who would
 not admit of any Expedients to prevent these En-
 croachments. As to the King's Courage and Con-
 duct under his Misfortunes, which are thought not
 to be equal to the Character he had obtain'd in the
 former Part of his Life ; should this be admitted,
 it is not much to be wonder'd at, when he was
 betrayed

betrayed and deserted by all Sorts of People, when he could hardly depend upon any one Man in his Council or Armies, and was forsaken even by his own Children. Which are Circumstances sufficient to dispirit a Person of approved Courage, and confound the most consummate Conduct. But to give some Account of the Transactions at the Revolution: The Prince of Orange being invited over by some of the principal Men in the Kingdom, found no Manner of Opposition; there was a general Defection even of the King's own Troops to the Prince: Whereupon the King retir'd from *Salisbury*, whither he was advanced to oppose his Enemies, and came back to *London*. From hence his Majesty sent the Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Gadolphin* to the Prince, with the following Propositions, which they were required to deliver in Writing, and are as follow, viz.

*King JAMES's Proposals to the Prince
of ORANGE.*

SIR,

“THE King commanded us to acquaint you, that he observeth all the Differences and Causes of Complaint alledged by your Highness seem to be referred to a free Parliament.

“His Majesty, as he hath already declared, was resolved before this to call one; but thought, that in the present State of Affairs it was advisable to defer it, till things were more composed: Yet seeing that his People still continue to desire it, he hath put forth his Proclamation, in order to it, and hath issued his Writs for the calling of it.

F f

“ And

“ And to prevent any Cause of Interruption in
 “ it, he will consent to every thing that can be
 “ reasonably required for the Security of all those
 “ that come to it.

“ His Majesty hath therefore sent us to attend
 “ your Highness, for the adjusting of all Matters
 “ that shall be agreed to be necessary to the Free-
 “ dom of Elections, and the Security of sitting,
 “ and is ready to enter immediately into a Treaty
 “ in order to it.

“ His Majesty proposeth, that in the mean time
 “ the respective Armies may be returned within
 “ such Limits, and at such Distance from London,
 “ as may prevent the Apprehensions that the Par-
 “ liament may be in any kind disturbed, being
 “ desirous that Meeting may be no longer delay-
 “ ed, than it must be by the usual and necessary
 “ Forms.

Dec. 8. 1688.

Halifax,

Nottingham,

Godolphin.

To which the Prince sent the following An-
 swer,

Prince of
 Orange's
 Answer.

“ WE, with the Advice of the Lords and Gen-
 “ tlemen assembled with Us, have in An-
 “ swer made the following Proposals.

1. “ That all Papists, and such Persons as are
 “ not qualified by Law, be disarmed, disbanded,
 “ and removed from all Employments Civil and
 “ Military.

2. “ That

2. "That all Proclamations that reflect on us,
"or any that have come to us, be recall'd; and
"that if any Persons for having assisted us have
"been committed, that they be forthwith set at
"Liberty.

3. "That for the Security and Safety of the
"City of *London*, the Custody and Government
"of the *Tower* be immediately put into the Hands
"of the said City.

4. "That if his Majesty should think fit to be
"in *London*, during the sitting of the Parliament,
"that we may be there also with an equal Num-
"ber of our Guards: And if his Majesty shall be
"pleased to be in any Place from *London*, whatever
"Distance he thinks fit, that we may be at the
"same Distance; and that the respective Armies be
"from *London* forty Miles, and that no further
"Force be brought into the Kingdom.

5. "And that for the Security of the City of
"*London*, and their Trade, *Tilbury-Fort* be put into
"the Hands of the City.

6. "That a sufficient Part of the publick Re-
"venue be assigned us for the Support and Main-
"tenance of our Troops, until the sitting of a free
"Parliament.

7. "That to prevent the Landing of the *French*,
"or other foreign Troops, *Portsmouth* may be put
"into such Hands, as by his Majesty and Us shall
"be agreed on.

The King apprehending, if he comply'd with those Demands, he should, in Effect, resign his Sovereignty, sent away the Queen and the young Prince to *France* on the tenth of *December*, and took Water himself at *Whitehall* Stairs about three the next Morning, with an Intent to follow them. But first he suppressed the Writs that were issued for calling a new Parliament, and secured the Broad-Seal, that his Authority might not be made use of against his Person, as had been practised in his Father's Days. And he sent this Letter to his General the Earl of *Feverham*.

MY LORD,

THINGS being come to that Extremity, that I have been forced to send away the Queen, and my Son the Prince of *Wales*, that they might not fall into the Enemy's Hands, which they must have done, if they had staid ; I am obliged to do the same thing, in hopes it will please God, out of his infinite Mercy unto this unhappy Nation, to touch their Hearts again with true Loyalty and Honour. If I could have relied on all my Troops, I might not have been put to the Extremity I am now in, and would at least have had one Blow for it. But tho' I know there are many valiant and brave Men among you, both Officers and Soldiers ; yet you know, that both you, and several of the General Officers and Soldiers, and Men of the Army, told me it was no ways advisable for me to venture myself at their Head, or to think to fight the Prince of *Orange* with them. And now there remains only for me to thank you, and all those, both Officers and Soldiers, who have stuck to me, and been truly loyal ; I hope you still retain the same Fidelity to me.

And

“ And tho’ I do not expect you shall expose your
 “ selves by resisting a foreign Army, and a poi-
 “ soned Nation; yet I hope your former Principles
 “ are so inrooted in you, that you will keep your
 “ selves free from Associations, and such pernicious
 “ Things. Time presseth so, that I can add
 “ no more.

JAMES REX.

And in pursuance of these Orders, the Earl of
Feverham disbanded 4000 Men, of which he sent
 an Account to the Prince of *Orange*.

Upon the King’s leaving *Whitehall*, the Lords
 Spiritual and Temporal, that were in or near *Lon-*
don, assembled at *Guildhall*; and having sent for
 the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, they drew up the
 following Declaration.

The Declaration of the Lords Spi-
ritual and Temporal, in and about the
Cities of London and Westminster,
assembled at Guild-Hall, Dec. 11.
 1688.

“ WE doubt not but the World believes, that
 “ in this great and dangerous Conjunction
 “ we are heartily and zealously concern’d for the
 “ Protestant Religion, the Laws of the Land, and
 “ the Liberties and Properties of the Subject. And
 “ we did reasonably hope, that the King having
 “ issued his Proclamation and Writs for a free Par-
 “ liament, we might have rested secure under the
 “ Expectation of that Meeting. But his Majesty

“ having withdrawn himself, and, as we apprehend,
 “ in order to his Departure out of this Kingdom,
 “ by the pernicious Counsels of Persons ill-affected
 “ to our Nation and Religion, we cannot, without
 “ being wanting to our Duty, be silent under these
 “ Calamities, wherein the Popish Counsels, which
 “ so long prevail’d, have miserably involv’d these
 “ Realms. We do therefore unanimously resolve
 “ to apply our selves to his Highness the Prince of
 “ *Orange*, who with so great Kindness to these
 “ Kingdoms, so vast Expence, and so much Hazard
 “ to his own Person, hath undertaken, by endea-
 “ vouring to procure a free Parliament, to rescue
 “ us, with as little Effusion as possible of Christian
 “ Blood, from the imminent Dangers of Popery
 “ and Slavery.

“ And we do hereby declare, That we will,
 “ with our utmost Endeavours, assist his Highness
 “ in the obtaining such a Parliament with all Speed,
 “ wherein our Laws, our Liberties and Properties
 “ may be secured ; the Church of *England* in par-
 “ ticular, with a due Liberty to Protestant Dis-
 “ senters, and in general the Protestant Religion and
 “ Interest over the whole World, may be support-
 “ ed and encouraged, to the Glory of God, the
 “ Happiness of the Established Government in these
 “ Kingdoms, and the Advantage of all Princes
 “ and States in Christendom, that may be herein
 “ concerned.

“ In the mean time, we will endeavour to preserve
 “ as much as in us lies the Peace and Security of
 “ these great and populous Cities of *London* and
 “ *Westminster*, and the Parts adjacent, by taking care
 “ to disarm all Papists, and secure all Jesuits and Ro-
 “ mish Priests, who are in and about the same.

“ And if there be any thing more to be per-
 “ formed by us for promoting his Highness’s ge-
 “ nerous

"nerous Intentions for the publick Good, we
 "shall be ready to do it as Occasion shall re-
 "quire.

W. Cant.

Tho. Ebor.

Pembroke,

Dorset,

Musgrave

Thanet,

Carlisle,

Weymouth,

P. Winton,

W. Asaph.

Fran. Eli.

Tho. Roffen.

Tho. Petriburg.

P. Wharton,

North and Grey,

Craven,

Aylesbury,

Burlington,

Sussex,

Berkley,

Rocheſter,

Newport,

Shandois,

Montague,

T. fermyn,

Vaughan Carbery,

Culpeper,

Crewe,

Ossulſton.

And they made the following Order for attending the Prince of Orange with their Declaration, viz.

"WHEREAS his Majesty hath privately this
 "Morning withdrawn himself, We the
 "Lords Spiritual and Temporal, whose Names are
 "subscribed, being assembled at Guildhall in Lon-
 "don, having agreed upon and signed a Declaration,
 "entitl'd, [*The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual
 "and Temporal, in and about the Cities of London
 "and Westminster, assembled at Guildhall, Dec. 11.
 "1688.*] do desire the Right Honourable the Earl
 "of *Pembroke*, the Right Honourable the Lord
 "Viscount *Weymouth*, the Right Reverend Father
 "in God the Lord Bishop of *Ely*, and the Right
 "Honourable the Lord *Culpeper*, forthwith to at-

“tend his Highness the Prince of Orange with the
 “said Declaration, and at the same time to ac-
 “quaint his Highness with what we have further
 “done at that Meeting.

Dated at Guildhall, Dec. 11. 1688.

The Irish
 Alarm.

To create the greater Dread and Aversion in the People to a Popish Prince, a Report was spread thro' the whole Kingdom at one and the same Instant, viz. on the 12th of December at Night, that the *Irish* disbanded Regiments were re-assembled, and actually burning and destroying the Country, and cutting the Throats of the Protestants, Men, Women, and Children. And so was the Matter managed, that in every Place the People were made to believe that the next great Towns were actually in Flames, and that the *Irish* were advanced almost to their own Doors: And so great was the Consternation, that tho' these Troops were known to be some Hundreds of Miles from many of the Places whither the Report came, and that their whole Number did not amount to 3000 Men; yet no Man reflected how impossible it was for so small a Body to put such a Design in Execution in so many distant Places. But such Horror and dismal Apprehensions seiz'd all Sorts of People; such a Dread and Terror had they of the many Deaths and Tortures they were told the Papists were preparing for them, that this may be justly look'd upon as the most effectual Stratagem the King's Enemies made use of to prevent his returning to his Throne.

The 13th. of December the Prince of Orange issued his Declaration, commanding the Officers of the disbanded Forces to re-assemble their Troops; and the

the Lords and Privy-Counsellors at London issued another Order on the 14th of December to the same Effect. But the King being driven back by contrary Winds, and forced into *Feverisham*, the Lords sent a Deputation to him, to invite him to return to his Palace at *Whitehall*.

On the 16th of December the King came back to London: Nor was he ever received with greater Acclamations of Joy by the common People, than at this time; and his Majesty dispatched the Earl of *Feverisham* to the Prince of *Orange*, to invite him to *St. James's*, with what Number of Guards he thought fit. But the Prince, instead of returning any Answer, made the Earl of *Feverisham* Prisoner, ordered his Troops to take Possession of the Posts about *Whitehall* by Force, and subscribed the following Paper or Warrant for the King's Removal from *Whitehall*, viz.

King James's
second Mes-
sage to the
Prince of O-
range.

"WE desire you the Lord Marquis of *Halifax*,
"the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord De-
"la Mere, to tell the King, that it is thought conve-
"nient, for the greater Quiet of the City, and the
"greater Safety of his Person, that he do remove
"to *Ham*, where he shall be attended by his
"Guards, who will be ready to preserve him from
"any Disturbance.

The Prince's
Answer, re-
quiring him
to remove
from *White-
hall*.

Given at Windsor 17 Dec. 1688.

W. P. de Orange.

The King was disturb'd in his Sleep at Midnight, in pursuance of this Order; but, instead of *Ham*, he had leave given him to retire to *Rochester*, under a Guard of Dutch Soldiers.

His

His Majesty being retir'd to *Rochester*, the Prince of *Orange* came to *St. James's*, and was congratulated on his Success by the Nobility, and the City of *London*; and the Temporal Lords, most of them, sign'd the Engagement and Association that had been framed at *Exeter*, to stand by one another, till their Religion, Rights and Liberties were secured, and to defend and support the Prince of *Orange*.

The King hearing of these Proceedings, resumed his former Resolution of leaving the Kingdom; and accordingly withdrew privately from *Rochester* on the 23^d of *December*, and was carried by Captain *Mackdonel* in a small Frigate to *France*, leaving the following Paper behind him.

King James's
Reasons for
going to
France.

“THE World cannot wonder at my withdraw-
“ ing my self now this second time. I
“ might have expected somewhat better Usage, af-
“ ter what I wrote to the Prince of *Orange* by my
“ Lord *Feversham*, and the Instructions I gave him.
“ But instead of an Answer, such as I might have
“ hoped for, what was I to expect, after the Usage
“ I received by the making the said Earl a Prisoner,
“ against the Practice and Law of Nations; the
“ sending his own Guards at eleven at Night to
“ take Possession of the Posts at *Whitehall*, with-
“ out advertising me in the least manner of it; the
“ sending to me at one of the Clock at Midnight,
“ when I was in Bed, a kind of Order by three
“ Lords to be gone out of my Palace before twelve
“ the same Morning? After all this, how could I
“ hope to be safe, so long as I was in the Power of
“ one, who had not only done this to me, and in-
“ vaded my Kingdoms, without any just Occasion
“ given him for it; but that did, by his own De-
“ claration, lay the greatest Asperision on me that
“ Malice could invent, in the Clause of it which
“ concerns

“ concerns my Son? I appeal to all that know me;
“ nay, even to himself, that on their Consciences
“ neither he nor they can believe me in the least
“ capable of so unnatural a Villany, nor of so little
“ common Sense, to be imposed on in a thing of
“ such a Nature as that. What had I then to expect
“ from one, who by all Arts hath taken such Pains
“ to make me appear as black as Hell to my own
“ People, as well as to all the World besides?
“ What Effect that hath had at home all Mankind
“ hath seen, by so general a Defection in my Ar-
“ my, as well as in the Nation, amongst all sorts
“ of People.

“ I was born free, and desire to continue so:
“ And tho’ I have ventur’d my Life very frankly,
“ on several Occasions, for the Good and Ho-
“ nour of my Country, and am as free to do it
“ again (and which I hope I shall yet do, as old
“ as I am, to redeem it from the Slavery it is
“ like to fall under;) yet I think it not conveni-
“ ent to expose my self, to be so secured as not
“ to be at Liberty to effect it; and for that rea-
“ son do withdraw, but so as to be within Call,
“ whensoever the Nation’s Eyes shall be opened,
“ so as to see how they have been imposed upon
“ by the specious Pretences of Liberty and Pro-
“ perty. I hope it will please God to touch their
“ Hearts out of his infinite Mercy, and to make
“ them sensible of the Condition they are in, and
“ bring them to such a Temper, that a legal Par-
“ liament may be called; and that, amongst other
“ things, which may be necessary to be done,
“ they will agree to Liberty of Conscience for all
“ Protestant Dissenters; and that those of my own
“ Persuasion may be so far considered, and have
“ such a Share of it, as they may live peaceably
“ and quietly, as *Englishmen* and Christians ought
“ to

“ to do, and not be obliged to transplant themselves;
 “ which would be very grievous, especially to such
 “ who love their Country. And I appeal to all
 “ Men, who are considering Men, and have had
 “ Experience, whether any thing can make this
 “ Nation so great and flourishing, as Liberty of
 “ Conscience. Some of our Neighbours dread it.
 “ I could add much more to confirm what I
 “ have said; but now is not the proper time.

Rochester, Dec. 22. 1688.

On the 23d of *December* the Prince of *Orange* issued the following Order.

“ **WHEREAS** the Necessity of Affairs does re-
 “ quire speedy Advice, We do desire all
 “ such Persons as have serv'd as Knights, Citizens,
 “ or Burgesses, in any of the Parliaments that were
 “ held during the Reign of the late King *Charles II.*
 “ to meet us at *St. James's* upon *Wednesday*, the
 “ 26th of this Instant *December*, by ten of the
 “ Clock in the Morning. And we do likewise de-
 “ sire, That the Lord-Mayor and Court of Alder-
 “ men of the City of *London* would be present at
 “ the same time: And that the Common-Council
 “ would appoint fifty of their Number to be
 “ there likewise. And hereof we desire them not
 “ to fail.

*Given at St. James's the 23d of Decem-
 ber 1688.*

W. H. Prince of Orange.

On the 25th of *December*, the Lords being as-
 sembled in their House, drew up the two follow-
 ing Addresses to the Prince of *Orange*.

“ We

“WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled in this Conjunction, do desire your Highness to take upon you the Administration of the publick Affairs, both Civil and Military, and the Disposal of the publick Revenue, for the Preservation of our Religion, Rights, Liberties and Properties, and of the Peace of the Nation: And that your Highness will take into your particular Care the present Condition of Ireland, and endeavour, by the most effectual Means, to prevent the Dangers threatning that Kingdom. All which we make our Request to your Highness to undertake, and exercise, till the Meeting of the intended Convention the 22d of January next; in which, we doubt not, such proper Methods will be taken, as will conduce to the Establishment of these things upon such sure and legal Foundations, that they may not be in Danger of being again subverted.

Address of the Lords to the Prince to take upon him the Administration.

Dated at the House of Lords, Westminster.

Dec. 25, 1688.

Address of the Lords for summoning a Convention.

“WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at Westminster in this extraordinary Conjunction, do humbly desire your Highness to cause Letters to be written, subscribed by your self, to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal (being Protestants) and to the several Counties, Universities, Cities, Boroughs, and Cinque-ports of England, Wales, and Town of Berwick upon Tweed. The Letters for the Counties, to be directed

To summon a Convention.

"rected to the Coroners of the respective Coun-
 "ties, or any one of them; and in Default of
 "the Coroners, to the Clerk of the Peace of the
 "respective Counties: And the Letters for the U-
 "niversities, to be directed to every Vice-Chan-
 "cellor; and the Letters to the several Cities, Bo-
 "roughs, and Cinque-ports, to be directed to the
 "Chief Magistrates of each respective City, Bo-
 "rough, and Cinque-port; containing Directions
 "for the chusing in all such Counties, Cities, U-
 "niversities, Boroughs and Cinque-ports, within
 "ten Days after the Receipt of the respective Let-
 "ters, such a Number of Persons to represent them,
 "as are of Right to be sent to Parliament. Of
 "which Elections, and the Times and Places there-
 "of, the respective Officers shall give notice with-
 "in the Space of five Days at the least: Of the in-
 "tended Elections for the Counties, to be publish-
 "ed in the Churches immediately after the time
 "of Divine Service, and in all Market-Towns
 "within the respective Counties: And notice of the
 "intended Elections for the Cities, Universities, Bo-
 "roughs and Cinque-ports, to be published within
 "the said respective Places. The said Letters, and
 "the Execution thereof, to be return'd by such Of-
 "ficer and Officers, who shall execute the same, to
 "the Clerk of the Crown, in the Court of Chan-
 "cery, so as the Persons so to be chosen may meet,
 "and sit at *Westminster* on the 22d Day of *January*
 "next.

Dated at the House of Lords, Westminster,
Decemb. 25. 1688.

The Members of the late Parliaments, with the
 Aldermen and Common-Council of the City of
London, being assembled the 26th, the Prince of
Orange made them the following Speech.

"YOU

“YOU Gentlemen, that have been Members of
 “ the late Parliaments, I have desired you to
 “ meet me here, to advise the best manner how to
 “ pursue the Ends of my Declaration, in calling a
 “ free Parliament, for the Preservation of the Pro-
 “ testant Religion, and the restoring the Rights and
 “ Liberties of the Kingdom, and settling the same,
 “ that they may not be in danger of being again sub-
 “ verted.

Prince of
 Orange's
 Speech to
 the City of
 London and
 late Mem-
 bers of Par-
 liament.

“ And you, the Aldermen and Members of the
 “ Common-Council of the City of London, I de-
 “ sire the same of you. And in regard your
 “ Numbers are like to be great, you may, if you
 “ think fit, divide yourselves and sit in several
 “ Places.

Whereupon they addressed the Prince to take on
 him the Administration of the Government, and
 summon a Parliament, in much the same Terms the
 Lords had address'd him. And on the 28th of
 December, the Prince returned the following Answer
 to the Lords:

My Lords,

“I Have considered of your Advice; and, as far
 “ as I am able, I will endeavour to secure the
 “ Peace of the Nation, until the meeting of the
 “ Convention in *January* next, for the Election
 “ whereof I will forthwith issue out Letters, ac-
 “ cording to your Desire. I will also take care to
 “ apply the publick Revenue to the most proper
 “ Uses that the present Affairs require; and like-
 “ wise endeavour to put *Ireland* into such a Con-
 “ dition, as that the Protestant Religion, and the
 “ *English* Interest, may be maintained in that King-
 “ dom.

Prince of
 Orange's An-
 swer to the
 Lords Ad-
 drefs.

dom. And I farther assure you, that as I came
 "hither for the Preservation of the Protestant Re-
 "ligion, and the Laws and Liberties of these
 "Kingdoms, so I shall always be ready to expose
 "myself to any Hazard for the Defence of the
 "same.

King *James* in the mean while wrote the follow-
 ing Letter to the Lords, and others of his Majesty's
 late Privy-Council in *England*.

James R.

My Lords,

"**W**HEN we saw that it was no longer safe
 "for us to remain within our Kingdom
 "of *England*, and that thereupon we had taken
 "our Resolutions to withdraw for some time, we
 "left, to be communicated to you, and to all our
 "Subjects, the Reasons of our withdrawing; and
 "were likewise resolved at the same time to leave
 "such Orders behind us to you of our Privy-
 "Council, as might best suit with the present State
 "of Affairs. But that being altogether unsafe for
 "us at that time, we now think fit to let you
 "know, that though it has been our constant Care,
 "since our first Accession to the Crown, to go-
 "vern our People with that Justice and Modera-
 "tion, as to give, if possible, no occasion of
 "Complaint; yet more particularly upon the late
 "Invasion, seeing how the Design was laid, and
 "fearing that our People, who could not be de-
 "stroyed but by themselves, might, by little ima-
 "ginary Grievances, be cheated into a certain Ru-
 "in; to prevent so great Mischief, and to take
 "away not only all just Causes, but even Pretences
 "of

" of Discontent, we freely, and of our own ac-
 " cord, redress'd all those things that were set
 " forth as the Causes of that Invasion. And that
 " we might be informed by the Counsel and Advice
 " of our Subjects themselves, which way we might
 " give them a farther and full Satisfaction, we re-
 " solved to meet them in a free Parliament: And in
 " order to it, we first laid the Foundation of such
 " a free Parliament, in restoring the City of Lon-
 " don, and the rest of the Corporations, to their
 " ancient Charters and Privileges; and afterwards
 " actually appointed the Writs to be issued out
 " for the Parliament's meeting on the 15th of Ja-
 " nuary. But the Prince of Orange seeing all the
 " Ends of his Declaration answered, the People be-
 " ginning to be undeceived, and returning apace
 " to their ancient Duty and Allegiance; and well
 " foreseeing, that if the Parliament should meet at
 " the time appointed, such a Settlement, in all Pro-
 " bability, would be made both in Church and
 " State, as would totally defeat his ambitious and
 " unjust Designs, resolved by all Means possible to
 " prevent the meeting of the Parliament. And to
 " do this the most effectual Way, he thought fit to
 " lay a Restraint on our Royal Person: For as it
 " were absurd to call that a free Parliament, where
 " there is any Force on either of the Houses; so
 " much less can that Parliament be said to act free-
 " ly, where the Sovereign, by whose Authority
 " they meet and sit, and from whose Royal Af-
 " sent all their Acts receive their Life and Sancti-
 " on, is under actual Confinement. The hurrying
 " of us under a Guard from our City of London,
 " whose returning Loyalty he could no longer
 " trust, and the other Indignities we suffered in the
 " Person of the Earl of *Foxesham*, when sent
 " to him by us, and in that barbarous Con-
 " Vol. I. G g " finement

“finement of our own Person, we shall not here
 “repeat; because they are, we doubt not, by this Time
 “very well known; and may, we hope, if enough
 “considered and reflected upon, together with his
 “other Violations and Breaches of the Laws and
 “Liberties of *England*, which by this Invasion
 “he pretended to restore, be sufficient to open the
 “Eyes of all our Subjects, and let them plainly
 “see what every one of them may expect, and
 “what Treatment they shall find from him, if at
 “any time it may serve his Purpose, from whose
 “Hands a Sovereign Prince, an Uncle, and a Fa-
 “ther could meet with no better Entertainment.
 “However, the Sense of these Indignities, and the
 “just Apprehensions of farther Attempts against
 “our Person, by them who already endeavour-
 “ed to murder our Reputation by infamous
 “Calumnies (as if we had been capable of setting
 “up a supposititious Prince of *Wales*) which was
 “incomparably more injurious than the destroying
 “of our Person itself, together with a serious re-
 “flecting on a Saying of our Royal Father of bles-
 “sed Memory, when he was in the like Circum-
 “stances, that *there is but a little Distance between*
 “*the Prisons and the Graves of Princes*, (which af-
 “terwards proved too true in his Case) could not
 “but persuade us to make use of that Right which
 “the Law of Nature gives to the meanest of our
 “Subjects, of freeing ourselves, by all Means pos-
 “sible, from that unjust Confinement and Re-
 “straint. And this we did, not more for the Se-
 “curity of our own Person, than that thereby we
 “might be in a better Capacity of transacting and
 “providing for every thing that may contribute to
 “the Peace and Settlement of our Kingdoms. For
 “as on the one hand no Change of Fortune shall
 “ever make us forget ourselves, so far as to con-
 “descend

“ descend to any thing unbecoming that high and
 “ royal Station, in which God Almighty, by
 “ Right of Succession, has plac’d us; so on the
 “ other hand, neither the Provocation or Ingrati-
 “ tude of our own Subjects, nor any other Con-
 “ sideration whatsoever, shall ever prevail with us
 “ to make the least Step contrary to the true Interest
 “ of the *English* Nation, which we ever did and
 “ ever must look upon as our own. Our Will and
 “ Pleasure is, that you of our Privy-Council take
 “ the most effectual Care to make these our graci-
 “ ous Intentions known to the Lords Spiritual and
 “ Temporal in and about the Cities of *London* and
 “ *Westminster*, to the Lord-Mayor and Commons of
 “ our City of *London*, and to all our Subjects in ge-
 “ neral; and to assure them, that we desire no-
 “ thing more than to return and hold a free Par-
 “ liament; wherein we may have the best Oppor-
 “ tunity of undeceiving our People, and shewing
 “ the Sincerity of those Protestations we have of-
 “ ten made, of preserving the Liberties and Proper-
 “ ties of our Subjects, and the Protestant Reli-
 “ gion; more especially the Church of *England*
 “ as by Law establish’d; with such Indulgence
 “ for those that dissent from her, as we have al-
 “ ways thought ourselves in Justice, and Care of
 “ the general Welfare of our People, bound to
 “ procure for them. And in the mean time, you
 “ of our Privy-Council (who can judge better by
 “ being upon the Place) are to send us your Ad-
 “ vice what is fit to be done by us, towards our re-
 “ turning, and the accomplishing these good Ends.
 “ And we do require you, in our Name, and by
 “ our Authority, to endeavour so to suppress all
 “ Tumults and Disorders, that the Nation in ge-
 “ neral, and every one of our Subjects in particular,
 “ may receive the least Prejudice from the pre-

“ sent Distractions that is possible. So not doubt-
 “ ing of your dutiful Obedience to these our Royal
 “ Commands, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at St. Germain's en Laye $\frac{4}{14}$ January
 16 $\frac{88}{89}$, and of our Reign the fourth Year.

By his Majesty's Command,

Melfort.

Directed thus :

To the Lords and Others of our Privy-
 Council of our Kingdom of England.

The Convention assembling at Westminster (in pur-
 suance of the Prince of Orange's Letters of Sum-
 mons the 22d of January, 1688) after some warm
 Debates, the Commons came to the following Re-
 solutions, (viz.)

That King James the Second having endeavoured to
 subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom, by breaking the
 original Contract between King and People; and by the
 Advice of Jesuits and other wicked Persons, having vi-
 olated the fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself
 out of the Kingdom, hath abdicated the Government,
 and the Throne is thereby become vacant.

They also resolved, That it had been found by
 Experience, to be inconsistent with the Constitution of this
 Protestant Kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince.

These Resolutions they sent up to the Lords; to
 the last of which their Lordships agreed, but to
 the first they made the following Amendments, viz.
 In the room of the Word *abdicated* they put *deserted*,
 and omitted the last Words, *that the Throne is thereby*
become vacant.

The Commons refused to admit of these A-
 mendments; for they said, the Word *deserted* did
 not fully express the Conclusion necessarily inferred
 from the Premises, which their Lordships had agreed :
 For their Lordships had agreed, that King James the

the Second had endeavoured to subvert the Constitution, by breaking the original Contract between King and People, and had violated the fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom; and the Word *deserted* respected only the withdrawing: Whereas the Word *abdicated* respected the whole; and therefore the Commons had made choice of it.

As to the second Amendment, *viz.* the leaving out the Words, *and the Throne is thereby vacant*; The Commons said, the Word *deserted*, which the Lords made choice of, implied that the Throne was vacant as to King *James*; and that the Lords had also admitted as much as to any other Person, by addressing the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the Administration of publick Affairs.

The Lords answered, that they insisted on the first Amendment. 1. For that the Word *abdicated* was not known in our Law, and they hoped the Commons would agree to make use of such Words only, the meaning whereof might be understood in Law, and not such as would be liable to doubtful Interpretations. 2. Because in the common Acceptation of the Civil Law, *Abdication* is a voluntary express Act of Renunciation, which there was not in this Case.

The Lords also insisted on the second Amendment, *viz.* The leaving out the Words, *That the Throne is thereby vacant*: For they said, although they had agreed that the King had deserted the Government, and therefore they had made Application to the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the Administration, thereby to provide for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, nothing could be inferr'd from thence but only that the *Exercise* of the Government by King *James* was ceas'd. And the Lords said they were willing to secure the Nation against the Return of King *James* into the Kingdom, but they did not

think there was such an *Abdication* by him, or such a *Vacancy of the Throne*, as that the Crown was thereby become Elective.

1. *Because by the Constitution of the Government the Monarchy is Hereditary, and not Elective.*

2. *Because no Act of the King alone can bar or destroy the Right of his Heirs to the Crown; and therefore if the Throne be vacant of King James II. Allegiance is due to such Person, as by Right of Succession, it doth belong to.*

The Commons reply'd, that they conceiv'd the Word *abdicated*, to be of a larger Signification than the Word *deserted*; but not too large to be applied to all the Recitals in the beginning of the Commons Vote, to which they meant it should be apply'd: Nor ought it to be restrain'd to a voluntary exprefs Resignation only by Word or Writing; Overt Acts there were that would be significant enough to amount to it.

As to that Objection, that the Word *abdicated* hath not a known Sense in the common Law of *England*, there was the same Objection to the Word *deserted*, they held, for that had no determined Sense neither. That the Word *abdicate*, properly signify'd to renounce, throw off, disown or relinquish any thing, so as to have no more to do with it. And this might be either by Words or Writing, or by doing such Acts as were inconsistent with the holding or retaining the Thing: Which last the Commons took to be the present Case, and therefore made Choice of the Word *abdicate*, as that which they thought did above all others most properly exprefs that meaning.

But the Word *deserted*, they said, had not only a very doubtful Signification, but in the common Acceptance, both in the Civil and Canon Law, signifies only a bare withdrawing, or temporary quitting of a Thing, and Neglect only, which leaveth the Party at Liberty of returning to it again.

So that the Commons said they could not agree to the first Amendment, to insert the Word *deserted* instead of *abdicated*, because it did not in any sort come up to their own, or even their Lordship's Sense of the Thing: Whereas they look'd upon the Word *abdicated* to express properly what was to be infer'd from that Part of the Vote to which their Lordships had regard, *viz. That King James by going about to subvert the Constitution, and by breaking the original Contract between King and People, and by violating the fundamental Laws, and withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom, had thereby renounc'd to be a King, according to the Constitution, by avowing to govern by a despotick Power, unknown to the Constitution, and inconsistent with it, he had renounc'd to be a King, according to Law;* such a King as he swore to be at the Coronation, such a King to whom the Allegiance of the *English* Subject is due, and had set up another kind of Dominion; which was to all Intents an *Abdication*, or abandoning the legal Title, as fully as if it had been done in express Words.

They said that the Government and Magistracy was under a *Trust*, and the acting contrary to that *Trust*, was renouncing the *Trust*, tho' it was not done by formal Deed, especially when the Actings were such as were inconsistent with, and subversive of the *Trust*: And in short, that the doing any Act inconsistent with the Being and End of a Thing, or that did not answer the End of that Thing, but quite the contrary; that ought to be construed an *Abdication*, and formal Renunciation of that Thing.

The Lords reply'd, that the Reason they differ'd with the Commons about the Word *abdicated*, was upon account of the Consequence drawn in the Conclusion of their Vote, That the Throne was thereby vacant: They did not know whether the Commons did not mean by this Expression, that it was so va-

cant as to null the Succession in the Hereditary Line, and so all the Heirs would be cut off; which the Lords said would make the Crown elective, and therefore they thought it might be proper to settle first what *the Throne being vacant* meant; and then they thought they should be much better able to settle the Difference about the Word *abdicate*.

The Commons answer'd again, that there being a present Defect of one to exercise the Government, they conceiv'd the declaring a Vacancy, and providing a Supply for it, could never make the Crown Elective; That the Laws, which are the Foundation and Rule of the Constitution, are the same; but if there were in any particular Instance a Breach of that Constitution, that would be an Abdication, and that Abdication would infer a Vacancy: That the Commons did not hold that the Crown of *England* was always and *perpetually Elective*, but it was necessary there should be a Supply when there was a Defect, and the doing of that, would be no Alteration of the Monarchy, from a Successive one to an Elective.

The Lords reply'd, That they were not satisfy'd with the Definition the Commons had given of the Word Abdicate, for *Grotius* had interposed this Caution; that if there be a yielding to the Times; if there be a going away, with a Purpose of seeking to recover what was for the present left or forsaken; *if there be any thing of Force, or just Fear in the Case, that doth void the Notion of Abdication.*

That the Word Abdicate being therefore of too large an Extent for the Case in Hand, their Lordships would rather make use of a Word, which signify'd only *the ceasing of the Exercise of a Right.*

For *Grotius* himself made a Distinction between a *Right*, and the *Exercise* of that Right; and as there was a natural Incapacity for the Exercise, as Sick-

ness,

ness, Lunacy, Infancy, doating old Age, or an incurable Disease, rendring the Party unfit for human Society, as Leprosy, or the like ; so there was a moral Incapacity as a *full irremovable Persuasion in a false Religion, contrary to the Doctrine of Christianity*. And in these Cases there must be a Provision made for supplying this Defect in the Exercise, and an intermediate Government taken Care for, because it is become necessary for the Support of the Government, when he to whom the Right of Succession doth belong makes the Exercise of the Government impracticable, and our Obedience to him, consistently with the Constitution of our Religion, impossible ; but that this however did not alter the *Right*, nor was it an *Abdication of that Right*. And they observ'd further, that the Commons did not apply the Word *abdicate* to the King's withdrawing himself out of the Kingdom ; for then the Word *deserted* would have answer'd their Intentions ; but that Abdication was the same, whether the King went out of the Kingdom, or staid in it.

That the Civilians made a Distinction between an Abdication of the Power, and an Abdication of the Crown itself : Of the former there had lately been an Instance in *Portugal*, on Account of a Contrariety in Religion, where the Administration was put into the younger Brother's Hands, tho' the Patents, and all publick Instruments ran in the elder Brother's Name.

As to the other Notion of Abdication, *viz.* an Abdication both of Power and Right ; if this took place in a Successive Monarchy, the Hereditary Succession was at an End : Indeed in *Poland*, by the Constitution such an Abdication makes the Throne vacant, and the Senate may appoint another to fill the Throne ; but this was an Elective Kingdom, from whence we were not to take Precedents in this Case.

As

As to the *Original Contract* mention'd in the Vote, if any thing was a part of it this was, That King, Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, should have the Power of making new Laws, and altering old ones; That the Crown being settled by Parliament upon the King and his Heirs, upon an Abdication of the Government by the King, the Disposition of the Crown could not devolve upon the two Houses; for nothing but an Act of Parliament could repeal those Acts which limited the Succession to the King and his Heirs. And these Statutes being made since any Interruption in the lineal Succession, they were not to go by any Precedent which happen'd before the making of these Laws; so that their Lordships hop'd the Commons meant no more by their Vote, but to set aside the Person who broke the Contract, for that in a *Successive Kingdom an Abdication can only be a Forfeiture as to the Person himself.*

The Lords observ'd farther, that this Expression in the Vote, viz. breaking the *Original Contract*, was a Language that had not been long us'd in Debates in Parliament, and perfectly unknown to our Laws, and the publick Records: That it sprung up and was taken from some late Authors, and such as were not very well receiv'd; that the very Phrase might raise a great Debate, they said; but this they wav'd.

They did admit (as the Commons had observ'd) that the King was bounded by Law, and bound to perform the Laws made, and to be made; but they observ'd that this Obligation did not arise from his Coronation-Oath; for by our Laws he is as much King before he is crown'd, as he is afterwards; and there is a natural Allegiance due to him from the Subject immediately upon the Descent of the Crown upon him: And tho' it was a very requisite Ceremony to put him under a further Obligation by the Conscience of his Oath, yet it could not be denied, but

but that as King he was bound to observe the Laws before ; *No body took the Coronation-Oath to be the Original Contract*, they suppos'd.

As to what the Commons had said, That the breaking into the Line of Succession on this Emergency, would not make the Government *perpetually Elective*, they did not know what was meant by *perpetually* ; but by breaking thro' the Line now, and making a Choice out of the lineal Course, they apparently made an Alteration in the Constitution, and this would be a Precedent for succeeding Ages to do the like ; And then the Question was, whether this would not make the Crown *perpetually Elective*.

But the Lords did conceive, that in Truth *no Act of the two Houses could alter the Lineal Succession* ; since by all the Laws in being the Crown appear'd to be Hereditary in the right Line of Descent : and *when any one ceases to be King, Allegiance is by Law due to the legal Heirs, and does not devolve upon the People, and consequently there can be no Vacancy*.

The Lords said they were willing to secure the Nation against the Return of King *James* into the Kingdom ; and would therefore concur with the Commons in any Act that should be thought necessary to prevent his Return ; but the Reason why the Lords did chiefly insist upon the Alteration of the Word *abdicated* was, because they apprehended, that it being a Word not known to our Laws, there might be other Inferences drawn from it than our Laws would warrant, as they conceiv'd was done in the concluding the Throne to be vacant ; therefore they thought it would shorten the Debate, if they settled that Point first ; for if they were sure the Throne was or was not vacant, they should easily light upon a Word proper to be us'd in the Case.

That if a Word was found, which signified no more

more than the renouncing for a Man's self; and which did not amount to the setting aside the Right of others, they would readily come into it: And they thought the Word *renounce* itself might be sufficient for this: But that the acting against a Man's Trust was a Renunciation of that Trust, as the Commons held, they could not admit. They agreed that it was a Violation of his Trust to act contrary to it, and he was accountable for that Violation; and he must answer what the Trust suffer'd out of his own Estate: But they denied it was an immediate Renunciation of the Trust, and that such a one was no longer a Trustee: That if both Houses did agree to that Conclusion, that the Throne was vacant, it was not material what Word was us'd about it; but if the Houses did not agree in this Conclusion, it were proper to speak to that Point first; for when this was once resolv'd, they should soon come to an Agreement about the other.

The Commons said, they could not consent to enquire into the Conclusion before the Premisses were settled; for the Vacancy of the Throne follow'd as an Inference drawn from the Acts of the King, which were express'd most fully by the Word *Abdication*: That it was going too far to talk of the Right of those in Succession, and of making the Crown Elective. The Vote in Debate did not lead to these Points, nor was there any Occasion from this Vote to infer any such thing: They should therefore keep to the Points as they were, both in Order of Place in the Vote, and in the Reason of the Thing; that there could not be greater Confusion in any Debate, than to state a Conclusion without the Premisses, which they must do, if they could not agree to word the Fact they were to infer from.

That it having been agreed, that a King may *renounce, resign, or part with his Office, as well as the Exercise*

Exercise of it, the Question was, whether this King had done so, or no: — From the Facts mentioned in the Vote the Commons did conceive, that the King had manifestly declar'd that he would not govern according to Law; nay, that he could not do it, being under the strictest Obligations to act contrary to the Laws, or to suspend them: By the Religion he had embraced he was obliged to suspend the Laws that defend the Establish'd Religion, and under Pain of Damnation he was obliged to extirpate it. And if this did amount to a manifest Declaration of his Will no longer to retain the Kingly Office, as it was limited and restrained by Law, then in common Sense, as well as legal Acceptation, he had sufficiently declar'd his Renunciation of the very Office, and that he would not, nay, he could not, as thus persuad'd in Point of Religion, govern according to Law, and thereupon had withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, which was a manifest Declaration of his Renouncing and Parting with his Kingly Office; and therefore they must insist upon the Word *abdicated*, which did so well correspond to the Fact of the Case, and so well express the true Meaning of the Commons in their Vote.

The Lords then desir'd to know, whether the Commons meant by *Abdication* a renouncing for himself; or for himself and his Heirs; for they said, that they did agree, *that a King might renounce his Kingdom; and that he might do it by Implicit Acts contrary to his Kingly Office: That for a King to say he would not govern according to Law; and for a King to act wholly contrary to Law, and do that which would subvert the Constitution, was the same thing: But it was not every Transgression, or Violation of the Law by the Prince's Conivance, or Command, was such a Breach of the Fundamental Laws as would infer an Abdication; for then were it in vain*

to call any of his Ministers or Officers to account for any such Action; then the Action was the King's, and not theirs, and there was an End of that Maxim. *The King can do no Wrong*; and they might have Recourse to that other Maxim, *Respondent Superior*, as more effectual Satisfaction.

But the Lords did agree, *that the King had done such Acts as amounted to an Abdication*; that is, had renounced the Government for himself; and desir'd the Commons once again to declare, if they meant any thing more by the Word *Abdication*; to which the Commons gave no Manner of Answer, but after a short Pause proceeded to the second Amendment.

As to the second Amendment the Commons demanded, If the Throne was vacant as to King *James II.* and if so, or if their Lordships would say it was full of any body else, and would name whom it was full of, the Commons said they would give an Answer to it.

The Lords replied, that taking the Throne to be vacant as to King *James II.* it must be fill'd by those who were to succeed him in case he was dead; for to say that the Throne was vacant, would be to put all those by that should take by Succession, and make the Crown Elective. If the Commons held that the Throne was vacant, the Lords might very well demand, *Who had the Right of filling up that Vacancy.*

The Commons said it was a Maxim in Law, that no one could be Heir to a Man that was living.

To which it was answer'd, that the King was dead in Law by this Abdication or Desertion of the Government, and that the next Heir was to take by Descent: And it was sufficient to know, that there were Heirs who were to take by lineal Succession, tho' they did not, or could not, positively name the particular Person, and therefore they might well conclude there was no Vacancy. The

The Commons said, that tho' the Lords were so very cautious of making a Precedent of an Election, or taking upon them to alter the Succession, they had in a Manner limited the Succession already, and barr'd the Right Line by their Vote, *That it is inconsistent with our Religion and our Laws to have a Papist to reign over us*; for must we not come to an Election, if the next Heir be a Papist? And suppose there was no Protestant Heir to be found, would not their Lordships then break the Line? Would not that necessitate an Election? Or must we submit to that which is inconsistent with our Religion and our Laws? And if their Lordships would in such a Case break thro' the Succession, the Nation had Reason to expect they would take care to supply the present Defect, where the Succession was uncertain.

That if this was not agreed to, the Consequence would be, that we that us'd, and justly, to boast of living under the best Government, must be left without any. That if their Lordships would not agree to fill up the Gap, or tell them who was the Successor, they must break up in Confusion, and leave the Nation to extricate it self, as well as it could, out of this Distraction.

The Lords replied, they had indeed pass'd a Vote against a Popish Prince reigning over them; but that amounted to no more than a Resolution that by a Law to be made they would take care of it in Parliament: That they desir'd the Legal Successor might be declar'd, and a Parliament summon'd in that Prince's Name, and the whole Matter settled there; for *an Act made by a King de facto was void as to a King de jure*.

The Commons answer'd, if the Throne was full, what had they to do there, or how came they thither? How could they have assembled, or acted in another

another Name; or by any other Authority than his that fill'd it? That had it been in the common and ordinary Case of a Vacancy by the King's Death, their Lordships in *December* last would surely have let them have known as much; but it was plain they were sensible they were without a Government, by desiring the Prince to take the Administration upon him, and to issue out his Letters for this Convention.

That if it remained a Doubt to their Lordships, who the Throne was full of, it was not like to be very evident to the Commons; for their Lordships were the Persons who were, or ought to be, present at the Delivery of our Queens, and the proper Witnesses to the Birth of our Princes: And if their Lordships had known who was upon the Throne, the Commons would certainly have heard his Name from them, and that had been the best Reason against a Vacancy that could have been given.

On the other Hand the Lords observ'd, that the Commons had acknowledg'd the Monarchy to be Hereditary, and said they did not see how that was consistent with the Reasons they had given for a Vacancy; for how a Kingdom could be Hereditary, and the Throne be vacant both of the King, and his Children, of whom he had several at the Time of his forsaking the Government, was a Difficulty that still remain'd to be clear'd.

That the Course of Inheritance, as to the Crown of England, was by our Law better provided for, and run stronger in the Right Line than any other Inheritance: No Attainder of the Heir of the Crown would bar the Succession, as it doth a Descent to any common Person; and therefore they could not apprehend how any Act of the Father could bar the Right of the Child: If the King had done any thing to divest him of his own Right, it did not follow that that should exclude the Right of his Issue,

on which the Succession was settled by several Acts of Parliament, and consequently the Throne was not vacant so long as there was any such Issue.

They demanded of the Commons, whether they thought the two Houses alone had Power to make one binding Act of Law? And whether every King of *England* was not King to him and his Heirs? And then they did not see how they could, without an Act of Parliament, determine his Estate; and though they had voted, that it was inconsistent with their Religion and Laws to have a Popish Prince, they did not see how a Vote of either or both Houses could alter the Law in this or any other Point.

That it would not be decent for them who were just deliver'd from the Fears of Popery and Arbitrary Power to assume any such Power to themselves: *Our Laws know no Interregnum, but upon the Death of the Predecessor the next Heir is King in uno & eodem instanti*: And in most of the Usurpations that had been made upon the Crown, the Usurper set up some specious Pretence of an Hereditary Title.

The Lords said, they would, if possible, have avoided the mischievous Consequences that were like to ensue upon declaring a Vacancy of the Throne; (*viz.*) the utter Overthrow of the whole Constitution of our Government: That the King was the Head of the Commonwealth, and all were united in one Body under him: And if the Head was taken away, and the Throne vacant, by what Law or Constitution was it, that they retain'd Lords or Commons? for they were knit together in one common Head: and *if one Part of the Government was dissolv'd, all must be dissolv'd*; therefore it was very necessary to come to an Explanation, how far they meant the Throne was vacant: If it should

be thought to extend to the King and his Heirs, notwithstanding all the Acts of Parliament for Recognizing and Confirming the Succession, they would do well to consider how this might affect the Constitution; they might as well take upon them to declare we should have no King at all.

The Commons answer'd, they did not intend to prejudice any Legal Right; but what the Consequence of this Vote might be, before the Vote itself was pass'd, they could not pretend to say: The Throne might be vacant as to the Possession, without the Exclusion of one that had a Right to the Succession, or the Dissolution of the Government and Constitution.

Whether the Lords were convinced by the Arguments of the Commons, or by whatever other Motives they were govern'd, the next Day (*viz.*) the seventh of *February*, they agreed to the Vote of Abdication, and Vacancy of the Throne.

It is observable, that in this Debate the Commons themselves did not bring any Arguments for breaking into the Succession, or ever asserted the Crown to be Elective. However, in less than a Week, (*viz.*) on the thirteenth of *February*, the Convention waited on the Prince and Princess of *Orange* with an Act or Resolution:

“ That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princess
 “ of *Orange* be, and be declared, King and Queen
 “ of *England, &c.* To HOLD the said Crown, &c.
 “ to them the said Prince and Princess, during their
 “ Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them:
 “ And that the sole and full Exercise of the Royal
 “ Power be only in, and exercised by the said Prince
 “ of *Orange*, in the Name of the Prince and Princess,
 “ during their Lives. And after their Deceases, to
 “ the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess: And
 “ for

“ for Default of such Issue, to the Princess *Anne*
 “ of *Denmark*, and the Heirs of her Body; and
 “ for Default of such Issue, to the Heirs of the
 “ Body of the said Prince of *Orange*.

How consistent this Declaration was with the Professions made by both Houses, That the Crown was Hereditary, and that they did not intend to break into the Succession, I leave others to enquire.

Indeed, it appears merry enough, to see an Assembly gravely debating who should enjoy the Name of King, after they had actually complimented one with the Power.

King *James II.* having remain'd in Exile above twelve Years, died at *St. Germain's en Laye* in *France* on the 16th of *September* 1701, in the 68th Year of his Age. His first Wife was Mrs. *Anne Hyde*, (eldest Daughter to the Right Honourable *Edward Hyde Esq;* Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, and afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*.) His Royal Highness was first contracted to this Lady, on the 24th of *November* 1659, at *Breda* in *Brabant*; and was again married to her, after the Restoration, according to the Rites of the Church of *England*, on the 3d of *September* 1660; by whom he had Issue four Sons and four Daughters, viz.

Death of
K. *James II.*

His Marriages
and Issue.

Charles of York, Duke of *Cambridge*, born the 22d of *October* 1660, who died at seven Months old.

James of York, Duke of *Cambridge*, second Son, born the 12th of *July* 1663. He was presently created Baron of *Dauntsey*, and Earl of *Cambridge*, and at the Age of three Years was elected Knight of the Garter, but died before he was install'd, *Anno* 1667.

Charles of York, Duke of *Kendal*, third Son, born at *St. James's* the 4th of *July*, *Anno* 1666, and died in *May* 1667.

Edgar

The REIGN of

Edgar, Duke of Cambridge, fourth Son, born the 14th of September 1667; died the 8th of June 1671.

Mary of York, eldest Daughter of King *James II.* was born the 30th of April 1662. She was married to *William-Henry of Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, afterwards King of *England*, the 4th of November 1677.

Anne of York, second Daughter, was born at St. *James's* the 6th Day of February 1664. She was married to his Royal Highness *George* Prince of *Denmark*, second Son to *Frederick III.* and was afterwards Queen of *England*.

Henrietta of York, third Daughter, was born at *Whitehall* the 13th Day of January, Anno 1668; died at ten Months old.

Katherine of York, fourth Daughter, born the 9th of February 1670; died the 5th of December 1671.

His Royal Highness having buried his first Duchess 31 March 1671, while he was Duke of *York*, married again to the Princess of *Modena*, *Mary d' Este*, Daughter of *Alphonso d' Este*, Duke of *Modena*, and Sister to *Francis* the then Duke, at *Dover*, the 12th of November 1673. By this Princess he had Issue,

Charles of York, Duke of *Cambridge*, born at St. *James's* on the 7th of November, Anno 1677; died the December following.

Katherine-Laura, eldest Daughter, born the 10th of January 1674; died October 1675.

Isabella of York, second Daughter, born the 28th of August 1676; died the 2d of March 1680.

Charlotte-Maria of York, third Daughter, born the 15th of August 1682; died in October following.

James-Francis-Edward, a Son, of whom the Queen was delivered at St. *James's* on Sunday Morning the 10th of June 1688.

Louisa-Maria-Teresa, a Daughter, born at St. *Germain's* in *France* the 18th of June, An. 1692, and died at St. *Germain's* the 8th of April, N. S. 1712.

F I N I S.



THE INDEX.

The INTRODUCTION,



*BEING a short View of the Titles
of the twenty KINGS before the
Conquest, with an Enquiry into the
pretended Rights gain'd by Possession
and Election.*

i

WILLIAM I.

*Appointed to succeed to the Crown by Edward the
Confessor.*

Page 1

His Title examin'd.

2

His Death, Marriage, and Issue.

5

His Character.

ibid.

Reflections on his Reign and Character.

7

I i

WIL-

The I N D E X.

WILLIAM II.

<i>His Title.</i>	9
<i>His Character.</i>	ibid.
<i>Reflections on his Reign and Character.</i>	11

HENRY I.

<i>His Title.</i>	12
<i>His Death, Marriage, and Issue.</i>	13
<i>His Character.</i>	ibid.
<i>Reflections on his Character.</i>	14

STEPHEN.

<i>His Pretensions to the Crown.</i>	15
<i>The little Regard Men had to their Oaths in those Days.</i>	16
<i>His Death and Issue.</i>	18
<i>His Character.</i>	ibid.
<i>Reflections on his Character.</i>	19

Saxon Line restored

HENRY II.

<i>His Title.</i>	20
<i>His Death, Marriage, and Issue.</i>	22
<i>His Character.</i>	23
<i>Reflections on his Character.</i>	24
<i>Fair Rosamond his Concubine.</i>	27

RICHARD I.

<i>His Title.</i>	ibid.
<i>His Marriage, Death, and Character.</i>	28
<i>Reflections on his Character.</i>	29

JOHN

The INDEX.

JOHN.

<i>His Title and Pretensions to the Crown.</i>	31
<i>His Marriage, Issue, Death and Character.</i>	32
<i>Reflections on his Reign and Character.</i>	35
<i>King John's Title further examined; as also the Right of the Kings of England to limit the Succession.</i>	37

HENRY III.

<i>His Title.</i>	40
<i>His Marriage, Issue, Death, and Character.</i>	ibid.
<i>Reflections on his Reign and Character.</i>	42
<i>Parliaments first instituted in this Reign.</i>	47

EDWARD I.

<i>His Title.</i>	48
<i>His Marriages, and Issue.</i>	ibid.
<i>His Death and Character.</i>	49
<i>He grants that Taxes shall not be levied, but by Consent of Parliament.</i>	51
<i>A Roll of Grievances pretended by the Clergy, Barons and Community, to Edward I.</i>	52
<i>Reflections on the Reign and Character of Edward I.</i>	55

EDWARD II.

<i>His Title.</i>	56
<i>His Marriage, Issue, and Character.</i>	57
<i>Knights Templars extirpated in this Reign.</i>	58
<i>A Review of this Reign.</i>	ibid.
<i>Reflections on the Reign and Character of Edward II.</i>	67

The INDEX.

EDWARD III.

<i>His Title.</i>	74
<i>His Marriage and Issue.</i>	75
<i>His Death and Character.</i>	ibid.
<i>A Review of his Reign and Character.</i>	77

RICHARD II.

<i>His Title, Marriages, and Death.</i>	81
<i>His Character.</i>	82
<i>A Review of his Reign.</i>	83
<i>The manner of deposing King Richard II. taken from the Parliament Rolls.</i>	90
<i>The Argument of Dr. Merks, Bishop of Carlisle, against the deposing Doctrine.</i>	101
<i>King Richard's Murder.</i>	111

The Line of Lancaster HENRY IV.

<i>His Pedigree, and Pretensions to the Crown.</i>	112
<i>His Marriages and Issue.</i>	113
<i>His Character.</i>	ibid.
<i>A Review of his Reign.</i>	115

HENRY V.

<i>His Title, Marriage, and Issue.</i>	119
<i>His Death and Character.</i>	120
<i>A Review of his Reign and Character.</i>	122

HEN-

THE INDEX.

HENRY VI.

<i>His Title, Marriage, and Issue.</i>	127
<i>His Character.</i>	128
<i>A Review of the Reign of Henry VI.</i>	130
<i>The Proceedings in Parliament upon the Duke of York's exhibiting his Claim to the Crown.</i>	137

EDWARD IV. *The Line of York*

<i>His Title.</i>	148
<i>His Marriage and Issue.</i>	ibid.
<i>His Death and Character.</i>	149
<i>Littleton, the Great Lawyer.</i>	151
<i>Printing first brought into England.</i>	ibid.
<i>A Review of the Reign of Edward IV.</i>	ibid.
<i>Reflections on his Reign.</i>	158

EDWARD V.

<i>His Title.</i>	158
<i>A Review of his Reign.</i>	ibid.

RICHARD III.

<i>His Pretensions to the Crown.</i>	163
<i>His Marriage, Issue, and Death.</i>	169
<i>His Character.</i>	150
<i>A Review of the Reign and Character of King Richard III.</i>	180

HENRY VII. *The Family United*

<i>His Title and Pretensions to the Crown.</i>	190
<i>The Act for indemnifying those who adhere to a King de facto.</i>	195
<i>The</i>	

The I N D E X.

<i>The Marriage and Issue of Henry VII.</i>	198
<i>His Death and Character.</i>	ibid.
<i>A Review of his Reign.</i>	200
<i>Sweating Sickness in this Reign, an Account of it.</i>	202
<i>The Lord Bacon's Remarks on the Reign of Henry VII.</i>	212
<i>Further Remarks on the Reign and Character of Henry VII.</i>	213

H E N R Y V I I I.

<i>His Title, Marriages, and Issue.</i>	215
<i>His Death and Character.</i>	216
<i>A Review of his Reign.</i>	219
<i>His last Will, limiting the Succession of the Crown.</i>	241
<i>Reflections on the Reign and Character of Henry VIII.</i>	246

E D W A R D V I.

<i>His Title, Death, and Character.</i>	251
<i>A Review of his Reign.</i>	253

M A R Y.

<i>Her Title.</i>	261
<i>Her Marriage and Death.</i>	262
<i>Her Character.</i>	263
<i>A Review of her Reign.</i>	ibid.
<i>Plea of acting under a Queen de facto ruled to be no Indemnity.</i>	265
<i>The Emperor Henry V. resigns his Sovereignty, and retires into a Cloister.</i>	273
<i>Archbishop Cranmer convicted of Heresy.</i>	ibid.
<i>Reflections on the Reign and Character of Queen Mary.</i>	375

The INDEX.

ELIZABETH.

<i>Her Title and Death.</i>	278
<i>Her Character.</i>	ibid.
<i>A Review of this Reign.</i>	281

JAMES I.

<i>His Title.</i>	305
<i>Objections to it.</i>	306
<i>His Marriage and Issue.</i>	307
<i>His Death.</i>	ibid.
<i>His Character.</i>	308
<i>A Review of this Reign and Character.</i>	312

CHARLES I.

<i>His Title, Marriage, and Issue.</i>	334
<i>His Death.</i>	335
<i>His Character.</i>	336
<i>A Review of the Reign of King Charles I.</i>	341
<i>Reflections on his Reign and Character.</i>	374

CHARLES II.

<i>The Usurpation of the Rump-Parliament.</i>	382
<i>Cromwell usurps the Sovereign Power under the Title of PROTECTOR.</i>	384
<i>Reflections on Cromwell's Administration.</i>	387
<i>Richard Cromwell's Usurpation.</i>	389
<i>Rump-Parliament.</i>	ibid.
<i>COMMITTEE of Safety usurp the Government.</i>	390
<i>The Rump come in again.</i>	ibid.
<i>Monk restores the secluded Members.</i>	ibid.
<i>Convention-Parliament.</i>	ibid.
<i>The</i>	

The INDEX.

<i>The Restoration.</i>	390
<i>The Character of King Charles II.</i>	391
<i>A Review of his Reign and Character.</i>	399

JAMES II.

<i>His Character.</i>	426
<i>Transactions at the Revolution.</i>	431
<i>Debates concerning the Abdication and Vacancy of the Throne.</i>	450
<i>His Death, Marriages, and Issue.</i>	467

FINIS.

